THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF CHILDHOOD

WILLIAM A. WHITE

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MIND AND HEALTH SERIES

Edited by H. Addington Bruce, A.M.

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BY

WILLIAM A. WHITE

SUPERINTENDENT SAINT ELIZABETHS HOSPITAL

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

PARENTS, teachers, school superintendents, school physicians, all who in any way have to do with the upbringing of the young, will find this an uncommonly helpful book, both in its specific recommendations and the sweep of its philosophic grasp. Not only does it emphasize certain fundamental principles usually underestimated or quite ignored in child training, but it provides precisely the kind of survey of child nature most needed by those whose business it is to make education truly effective.

As things now stand the great aims of education are again and again frustrated. The world abounds in human derelicts of all sorts — men and women incompetent to earn a decent living, moral weaklings, nervous and mental wrecks, slaves of vice and crime. So numerous, in fact, have

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the mentally and morally inefficient become that they constitute problems of the gravest social significance. And since in the main they are people who have passed through the educational mill in childhood and youth, it is evident either that the present educational system is somewhere at fault or that there are in these unhappy folk inborn defects which no system of education will suffice to overcome.

Until recently the tendency was to subscribe to the latter view. Under the influence of an unconscious assumption that accepted theories of education were sound, the blame for failure when failure occurred was thrown on the ancestry of the persons who failed. There was much talk of "degeneration" and of "the fatal influence of a poor heredity." Nor has the heredity bugaboo been wholly laid yet, as witness the activities of the so-called eugenic societies that would improve the world by drastic action designed to prevent the "unfit" from "perpetuating their kind." Gradually, however, there has come to ever widening circles a realization that environ-

ment, and particularly the environment of the first years of life, may after all have most to do in determining the course of adult development, by repressing or accentuating inherited tendencies. And evidence is steadily accumulating to bear this out, as a result chiefly of patient individual analysis of the life histories of thousands of persons who in one way or another — by nervous breakdown, by insanity, by vice addiction, by criminality — have deviated strikingly from the normal.

The author of this book is a distinguished representative of the highly trained specialists who have devoted themselves to this task of individual analysis of deviates from the normal. For many years Doctor White has had exceptional opportunity to study closely large numbers of mental and moral incapables, in his work as superintendent of Saint Elizabeths Hospital, the great Government institution at Washington for the mentally sick; and, before going to Saint Elizabeths, as a psychiatrist in New York, where he was assistant physician in the Binghamton

State Hospital from 1892 to 1903. The outcome of his researches has been to satisfy him — as similar researches have satisfied all who have undertaken them with thoroughness — that whatever the part played by heredity, the thing that supremely counts in the making or marring of a human life is the influences by which that life is surrounded in the formative years of childhood. As Doctor White expresses it, on a later page:

"We are coming in these days to think of heredity as being much more restricted in its possibilities for limitation. It is true that many students of heredity believe that all sorts of mental qualities may be traced directly from the ancestors. Those physicians, however, who deal with the problems of mental illness see, on the contrary, these peculiarities passed on because, as a part of the child's environment, they are impressed upon it during its developmental period. This view has been emphasized because it has been found possible to largely modify so many personal mental traits. Heredity as an explanation

is therefore looked upon somewhat askance because it serves to block efforts at improvement. If a certain trait is hereditary, why! that's the end of it. There is nothing to be done. So frequently, however, something can be done that this explanation is being more and more put aside as inadequate."

In other words, conceding that training and environment can accomplish little in certain cases — for example, in cases of feeblemindedness resultant from an inborn deficiency in brain-stuff — training and environment nevertheless are decisive in the lives of most people. What a man shall be depends, not so much on what his grandfather or great-grandfather was, as on the manner of his rearing. Consequently what is needed is clearer insight into the basic requirements of human nature in point both of training and environment. Doctor White's effort in the present volume is to assist to that clearer insight. In especial he would aid parents to know their children better than most parents now do, and through this knowledge to

build more securely the foundations of adult character.

Above all he emphasizes — as I myself have emphasized in my books on "Psychology and Parenthood" and "Handicaps of Childhood" — the transcendent importance of the first years and of the beginnings of education in the home. Infancy, he truly observes, "with all its budding possibilities, all its beginnings, trials, and failures, its blazing of trails and its fundamental formulations (time and space) is the most important period of life. This is the period when all the tendencies which are to be the motive forces in the future of the individual acquire their initial direction; it is the time when the foundations for the future character are laid." Again and again he warns that it is on the parents that chief responsibility rests for the equipping of their children to withstand the inevitable stresses and trials of the years to come and to lead healthy, happy, successful lives.

Some things that he has to say will surprise, even startle parents. From cer-

tain of his findings — particularly as regards the sexual life of childhood — they will be inclined to dissent. And indeed it should be said that among the investigating specialists themselves there is difference of opinion as to the part played by the sex instinct in early life. But they are in entire agreement regarding the numerous training errors to which attention is called in the pages that follow, and the avoidance of which means so much to the future welfare of the child. To those who would understand why so many children grow up neurotic, cruel, selfish, obstinate, sullen, cowardly, weak-willed, lacking in initiative, bashful, diffident, or otherwise psychically handicapped; and to those who, having children of their own, or being responsible as teachers or guardians for the upbringing of children, would most surely influence the children for good, Doctor White's book is to be heartily commended.

H. Addington Bruce.

PREFACE

THIS book neither purports to be an exhaustive account of the psychology of the child and of the relation between parents and children, nor does it aim at setting forth only the individual opinions of the author on these two subjects. It is intended to be an examination of them from the point of view which has recently been developed in psychology by that branch of it known as psycho-analysis, and sets forth the conclusions which have been reached by many investigators and which are deemed of importance in illuminating the subject in hand, namely, the mental hygiene of childhood.

In presenting this subject of the mental hygiene of childhood I have believed that the best purpose would be served by emphasizing two conclusions, one concerning the child and one concerning the family. The conclusion concerning the child is

that, contrary to generally held opinions, it is possessed of a developing sexuality, the roots of which reach back into its infancy. The conclusion concerning the family is also contrary to the opinions regarding that institution commonly held, namely, that there reside within its organization and as a part of its nature certain disruptive tendencies. I have felt that the recognition of these two facts was of the very first importance and have tried to set them forth in a way that would not only help to their understanding, but would also indicate how their recognition, and the incorporation of that recognition as a factor in regulating the life of the child, would be productive of far-reaching results to the advantage of the race.

If this book serves its purpose in securing a hearing for these views, the reader may naturally feel a desire to pursue the subject further. I would suggest to such a reader the few works to which reference is made in the footnotes.

WILLIAM A. WHITE.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
January, 1919.

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THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF CHILDHOOD

Chapter I

The Child

BEFORE entering upon the discussion of the real subject matter of this book, the mental hygiene of childhood, I feel that it will serve to assist in an appreciation of the principles involved if the reader to start with has a somewhat more comprehensive idea of the child than that usually held, of its relation to the past by heredity, and of its promise for the future by the fullest possible development of all of its powers as an adult. As a rule we do not look upon the child from such a broad platform, perhaps seeing only in some physical or mental qualities or characteristics traits which we recognize as family peculiarities, thus linking the child with its progenitors by

heredity and seeing in ambition the measure of future achievements. A broader outlook, however, is essential if the full possibilities of the subject of mental hygiene are to be appreciated.

In the first place, the child is generally considered to be an individual with all those characteristics which are implied by that term usually in a very limited application. It will be helpful to examine briefly the concept individual. The child as an individual would be thought of as not only physically separate and distinct from other individuals, but as having for the most part, aside from hereditary traits, only such bonds between it and them as those of passing interests or affections, which might at any time be dissolved. It is generally thought of as a small adult differing mostly in size but having the same sorts of ideas, the same sorts of natural inclinations, and not infrequently being subject to the same responsibilities. To be sure, parents as a rule treat the child as in many ways different from an adult, and in recent years some of these considerations

have had weight in certain well defined social tendencies, particularly such tendencies as are responsible for the juvenile court. Here it is pretty clearly recognized that the responsibility of the child is not that of an adult, a fact which has been stated for many a year in the statutes of the land, but which has often not been adequately recognized in the actual dealing with children. The juvenile court does recognize this fact in a concrete way, and in addition the fact that the child has certain fundamental rights, a further fact that often shamefully lacks recognition. Adults are prone to see in children replicas of themselves and to think of the child's actions, as they do of those of other adults, as having explanations in thoughts and feelings of the same kind as would account for such actions in themselves.[1] These are indications of the direction of the more particular and grosser fallacies which cover over and obscure the proper recognition of childhood as it is. Let us examine the con-

[1] This is the principle of anthropomorphism, or as we would better term it to-day, *identification*, extended to the child.

cept child somewhat more in detail and see whether we cannot come to a better understanding of what in reality the child does represent.

In the first place it is a well recognized fact in biology that life is passed on from generation to generation through the medium of a material substance which is known as the germ plasm. This is the substance which the parents contribute to the formation of the child, and which is started on its process of growth and development at the moment of impregnation. This substance not only is to be thought of as material contributed by the parents, but as material which tends to grow and develop into the likeness of the parents — in other words, material which is like them. A simple illustration will demonstrate this. The germ plasm of a horse grows into a horse and not into a dog or a sheep or a cow. Similarly the germ plasm of a sheep grows into a sheep and not into a horse or a dog or a cow, and so the germ plasm of a man grows into the likeness of a man. Not only that, but the germ plasm of

particular parents tends to grow into a more or less composite likeness of them.

And so to begin with, we see at once that the child is not a separate and distinct individual, unrelated to other individuals, but that there is a very material bond of physical relationship to its parents; it is linked to them by the very material out of which it is formed and to the extent that this material contains within itself definite tendencies to develop in certain well defined directions — to that extent it is circumscribed in its capacities for growth and development. If the germ plasm contains within itself the developmental necessity which makes blue eyes, the child will have blue eyes; just as other necessary tendencies reach their expression in the fact that it has hands and arms, feet and legs, stomach, heart, lungs, kidneys, and all the rest of its physical being. The child is, therefore, not only linked to its parents by a very material bond, but its relationship to them is one that clearly defines the possibilities of its growth and development in certain directions, limiting it very def-

initely in some, limiting it less definitely in others, depending upon the degree and permanency of the organized tendencies. For example, every child will have the organs mentioned above. Whether its eyes shall be blue or brown is a matter not so definitely predictable, while whether it will be obstinate or vindictive in character or pliable and sweet-tempered is something which is still less possible to foreshadow and which may be dependent not at all upon its hereditary tendencies, as we shall see later.

Looking at this whole matter more broadly we see that the child, through the germ plasm, which is the material from which it is formed, is not only related to its parents, but bearing in mind the theory of evolution, the theory that traces man's lineage back through ever increasing numbers of ancestors, we will realize the much more significant fact that through his germ plasm man is linked indissolubly to his past from the beginnings of life. Therefore no adequate understanding of the child can be reached unless we have, to

begin with, an inventory of the powers, possibilities, and limitations with which the past has endowed it.

In the same way that the parents of the child have passed on to it through their germ plasm an inheritance from the past, so the child, when it grows up and becomes an adult, becomes itself a parent and passes on through its germ plasm to its children an inheritance which links it, through them, with the future as through its parents it has been linked with the past.

The child, therefore, we see cannot truly be considered as an individual in the sense in which that term is ordinarily used, that is, separate and distinct from other individuals. It not only brings into the world an inheritance from the past, but later, as adult, passes that inheritance into the future, with perhaps additions which in its lifetime it may make to it. Heredity, for that is what we have been discussing, is seen thus to furnish a qualifying aspect to the possibilities of growth and development. We are coming, in these days, however, to think of heredity as

being much more restricted in its possibilities for limitation. It is true that many students of heredity believe that all sorts of mental qualities may be traced directly from the ancestors. Those physicians, however, who deal with the problems of mental illness see, on the contrary, these peculiarities passed on because, as a part of the child's environment, they are impressed upon it during its developmental period. This view has been emphasized because it has been found possible to largely modify so many personal mental traits. Heredity as an explanation is therefore looked upon somewhat askance because it serves to block efforts at improvement. If a certain trait is hereditary, why! that's the end of it. There is nothing to be done. So frequently, however, something can be done that this explanation is being more and more put aside as inadequate. Even the limitations of heredity are, moreover, not to be considered as altogether limiting. Heredity sees to it, so to speak, that the child is furnished with all of the characteristics of its species; in

other words, that it is true to type. This is the fundamental necessity, for any material departure from the type would make it impossible for that individual to become such an intimate member of the social group, — the herd, — as to be able to develop to best advantage. If, for example, it were some sort of freak it would be practically ostracized (perhaps to lead the life of a curiosity in some circus side show), while if it were still further from the average, a monster for example, it might not be able to live at all.

Heredity, therefore, provides for the essentials; and in proportion to the necessity of any structure or quality are its provisions grounded in heredity, and by that same token, in proportion to its lack of necessity, is it left to the individual to develop it in his lifetime. Thus heart, lungs, stomach, etc., are absolutely necessary, and so they are provided for in the germ plasm and transmitted with great precision and certainty by heredity; but the mood of an individual, optimistic or pessimistic, his amiability or irascibleness, his

general tendency to honesty or otherwise, all these and many more qualities are not essential for the preservation of the life of the individual, nor do they add to the assurance of its transmittal to a future generation; therefore they may well be left to the mercy of individual circumstances.

I have indicated how the concept of the child as individual must be limited and qualified if we are to consider it from the standpoint of heredity. But this is not the only aspect of the child which if developed requires that we qualify the concept of it as individual. From the moment a child is born into the world until as an old man it passes out of it, it is constantly receiving all sorts of impressions from its environment, which are to be utilized for the purposes of its reactions upon it. This is easily understood with reference to the impressions that are gained through the sense organs. The child, after it is born, has to learn to see, to hear, to taste, to smell, and to be able to accurately locate the different portions of its body through the sensations which come to it from its muscles and joints. It

gets innumerable impressions through its ear which are known as sounds; it learns to see, to distinguish the color and size and form of objects, and it learns through touch their temperature, their consistency, and through the muscle sense their weight, and through all of these senses combined their direction and their distance. And all this information with regard to the environment is absorbed and becomes a part of the individual so that in its later life it knows it all intuitively. The environment, in other words, and in the sense indicated above, becomes absorbed and a part of the individual. In these various aspects it is the child's stock in trade, the material information upon which it acts, the basic factors from which it builds its conduct. In this sense, therefore, we can only speak of the individual and the environment as two separate and distinct things if we stand outside and superficially observe them. The moment we begin an investigation of their relations we see this interpenetration of the individual by the environment, so that the lines of distinction be-

tween the two tend, the more we study the phenomena, to become less and less distinct.

In the same way that the environment becomes a part of the individual so the individual in his influence upon the environment becomes a part of it. He reaches out from the confines of his physical body and acts upon the environment and shapes it to suit his purpose. He makes for himself clothing and he builds for himself a house, and to the extent that the clothing and the house are expressions of him they incorporate within themselves so much of his personality. Wherever, therefore, the individual touches the environment and molds it to his wish, he becomes to that extent a part of it. The interpenetration of environment and individual is manifested in both directions.

It is, however, in the personal relationships of the individual, the relations which he builds up with those about him, that the sharp lines which are usually supposed to separate him from others are seen to fade away. From the moment that the child is born it begins to build up relations

of mutual affection, mutual dependence between itself, its parents, and the other members of the household. It is at once dependent upon them for care, protection, and love, and they are dependent upon it for all those subtle stimulations of affection which make up the emotional aspects of the parental instinct, and as it grows older and the circle of its associates enlarges it at once receives from them impressions which stimulate its reaction towards them and gives to them a corresponding series of impressions. The relation between the individual and his social surroundings is thus one of mutual interpenetration, as already described for the inanimate environment. As with reference to the inanimate environment, too, the influence of the individual may extend over long periods of time. If he develops, for example, into a great builder his influence upon the environment may stand as a monument to his memory for generations. If he has become a great writer his books may be read for an hundred years. And so personality tends to spread in ever widening

circles, both in the present and into the future. The concept individual is seen again to require limitations and qualifications.

The various limitations and qualifications of the concept individual might be elaborated indefinitely, but I have indicated them sufficiently for the purposes of this book. To my mind it is essential that in considering the general questions of the mental hygiene of childhood, we should begin with a reasonably adequate conception of what after all a child is, of what it stands for, what its possibilities for development comprise. We cannot undertake to guide the footsteps of the child unless we know whence it has come and whither it is going. We need to appreciate both the possibilities and the limitations that circumscribe our problem, and we need to know in dealing with a specific instance of conduct what it means in the general scheme of the larger whole before we attempt to change it in any way. It is as important not to interfere with the orderly progress of the unfolding of the

child personality as it is to guide it and endeavor to mold it in constructive directions. It is only by appreciating its limitations that we can avoid the first, and by an appreciation of its possibilities that we can succeed in the second.

The child then is to be considered as an individual, not in any strict etymological sense, but only subject to the qualifications I have briefly suggested. Linked indissolubly though it may be with the past, it nevertheless presents infinite promise for the future. No two human beings are alike, and within that region wherein they differ the possibilities are truly infinite. The heritage from the past is but the background upon which these variations receive their value. For here as elsewhere to conform to the law is to be free. If the child did not start out reasonably true to type it would perish. Variations can only be erected upon a foundation which is stable because it is fundamentally like the rest of the race.

Within this region of variation are all the possibilities for education, for modifica-

tion of all sorts by experience, all the possibilities for full health or disease, efficiency or uselessness.

And finally, before the problem of the child can be intelligently and usefully approached at all, it must be fully realized that while theoretically the differences between child and adult are differences of more or less, — that is, quantitative differences, — still the practical results of these differences are such that it is quite impossible to approach the problems of the child from the adult point of view. The child at the moment of its birth is projected into a world with which we, as adults, have already become pretty well acquainted. It has to learn to see, to hear, to touch, to taste, to estimate size and distance, to acquire ideas of time and space, to distinguish persons and things, and to recognize their principal characters; yes, it even has to learn to recognize its own body, to learn what belongs to it, — hands, feet, and the rest, — as distinguished from other objects. It has to learn all this, and much more that we already know and upon the

knowledge of which we base our every act. If we try to picture to ourselves the child world we realize at once that it is so different from our world as hardly to be described in the same language.

During the progress of the development of the child, its world and the adult's world come more and more nearly to correspond, but at any point along the way due allowance must be made for the differences. I shall frequently have to refer to the distinctions as we proceed.

Unfortunately the great discrepancies between the child world and the adult world too often only serve to make the child mysterious and so to deepen the gulf between it and the adult. This lack of understanding is at the bottom of much bad hygiene, not to say cruelty, and it is the rule largely because as adults we remember practically nothing of our early years, only isolated instances of little importance and clothed in the imagery and understanding of later years. Our childhood really succeeds in escaping us through the failure of memory.

These years of infancy and childhood, however, are of enormous importance as being the developmental period of greatest significance in the history of the individual. Then, too, they represent for each individual what every one has to pass through from birth to adulthood and so become in the history of every child a pattern of all children. Not only this, but, as in accordance with a well known biological law each individual goes through in an abbreviated form in his development the history of the race, this period also epitomizes the development of the race from primitive savagery.

Our concept of the child then includes an appreciation of the heritage from the past, its relation to the present, and its promise for the future. That past includes not only its individual past but its racial past, and the future reaches forward to stop, perhaps never.

Chapter II

The Fundamental Instincts

MODERN psychology sees in conduct a series of actions brought about for the purpose of changing conditions to make them more in keeping with the desires of the individual. As evolution has taken place there has come about a closer and closer relation between man and his environment. For example: primitive man can only live in the tropics where it is warm; civilized man can adjust himself to any temperature by changing the quality and quantity of his clothes. This increasing power of adjustment to the environment is based upon a greater capacity for knowing it and then acting upon the basis of such knowledge. It is our sense organs, more particularly the eye, the ear, and the skin, that analyze the environment and, so to speak, report upon its different characteristics, but it is

the *interest* back of the activities which causes us to focus our sense organs on our environment for the purpose of becoming more intimately acquainted with it.[1]

[1] In the old academic psychology the attempt was made to classify and to describe the various aspects of consciousness largely as they appeared to the student by looking within, — introspection. Various so-called faculties of the mind were invented as hypotheses to account for what was found and so the will, the intellect, the emotions were supposed to be at the back of mental phenomena, which latter were then examined minutely.

To make this somewhat clearer: If I look at a piece of ice I see, or technically speaking, perceive it as to its form, color, distance from me, and coldness. It is, for example, a block about a foot square, transparent or white, about three feet in front of me. It also looks cold, and hard, and brittle, and as if it were quite heavy. How do I arrive at all these conclusions respecting the block of ice? The color is directly seen as the result of a stimulation of the retina of the eye, the form also almost as directly seen; but the distance is a judgment arrived at as a result of the unconscious sensations which come to me from the muscles of my eyes which hold them in a certain position at which I obtain clear vision — like the focusing of a pair of opera glasses. This position involves a certain angle at which the two eyes are inclined to each other among other things. The coldness, hardness, brittleness and weight are not, strictly speaking, seen at all but are inferences based upon the memory of previous experiences of actually touching, lifting, etc., bits of ice.

All of these phenomena, it can readily be seen, are reducible to a common factor, namely sensation. The seeing of the color is due to direct sensations of color, the seeing of the distance is due to unconscious sensations of tension in the eye muscles that maintain the focus, the perception of coldness, weight, etc., were originally actual, now remembered sensations. In this way

Of all the various aspects of the environment towards which our activities might be directed some few only are selected and become the objects of our interest. Why is this? What is the explanation of this selective interest? To approach this question we must recognize the fundamental tendencies towards activities, the sum of which we call conduct. These tendencies we shall call *instincts*.

the psychological phenomena were built up of combinations and recombinations of sensations, as chemical substances are built up of atoms.

All this has been changed by the recent behavioristic school of psychologists who, instead of all this speculation, always ask with respect to the action of an individual, What is the person trying to do? In other words they are not content with a purely descriptive psychology, but inquire what particular goal the conduct is trying to reach. Thus a man goes into a store, takes some money out of his pocket, receives a loaf of bread, goes home, hands it to his wife, who cuts it in slices and puts it on the table. We say the man stopped on his way home and bought a loaf of bread for dinner.

The psycho-analytic school go still further and see behind conduct a wish. The man who took the bread home for dinner has back of his action a desire, a wish which brought about the result observed. He wanted bread for dinner so he acted as he did and the wish was the motivating force back of his conduct.

Instead, therefore, of the sensation being the unit of the psyche as described by the older psychologists, the wish has come to be thought of as the unit and back of every action we see a wish trying to bring something to pass.

Different authors have reached different conclusions as to the number and character of man's fundamental tendencies, that is, those tendencies to action which cannot be analyzed any further, which cannot be split up into simpler components. The most recent thought, however, tends to reduce them all to expressions of but two prime instincts which are characteristic, not only of man, but of all living things, namely, the self-preservative or ego-instinct and the race-preservative or sex-instinct. The various activities of the child will, therefore, all occur in response to one or other of these instincts, the operations of which are thus of the first importance to understand in order to understand the child, and it goes without saying that the child must be understood if any consistent and intelligent effort is to be made to direct and train it. These two instincts then supply the motive powers for conduct. The immediate object of the one, the ego-instinct, is to gain domination over the environment; the immediate object of the other, the sex instinct, is to gain pleas-

ure. I will elaborate and illustrate these principles somewhat further.

THE SELF-PRESERVATIVE INSTINCT (EGO-INSTINCT)

From the very first hours after birth this instinct manifests itself in the efforts (of course instinctive, not intentional) of the child to control the conditions and persons about it. Almost its first act is to cry at the first feeling of discomfort. The almost immediate effect of the crying is the relief of the discomfort by the mother or nurse, who seeks at once its causes. Inasmuch as crying is followed promptly by the relief of the discomfort, it is repeated each time the discomfort occurs. At first only bodily discomforts are so reacted to, but later the discomfort that comes from any unsatisfied desire is reacted to in this way. The instinctive tendency is to reproduce the sequence crying-relief. Thus children learn to cry if their requests are not instantly carried out. They cry when hungry, when they want candy, when they want the doll of brother or

sister to play with, in short for everything they want, yes, even for the moon. As the child finds from experience that there are certain unchangeable conditions which cannot be modified by crying (the moon which is reached for and cried for remains inaccessible), there comes about a growing tendency to correct the feeling that everything wished for can be brought to pass by such means. The child learns more accurately its limitations and possibilities.

This instinct for domination, the instinct that leads each individual to try to attain the maximation of his ego, to try to control his environment, may manifest itself in many ways. As a tendency to develop our powers to the fullest it is a constructive power. It not infrequently, however, has other and less obvious purposes and sometimes works to our disadvantage. The child, for example, who has been encouraged in crying by always having its wants satisfied even when they were unreasonable gets so that it expects to go on living that way. It never learns to make the neces-

sary exertion to obtain what it wants but just manifests its discomfort and expects instant relief. Such a bringing up makes for a weak character that later in life manifests itself by intense selfishness, and not only an unwillingness to make exertions to obtain the objects of desire but even perhaps the impossibility of making the necessary efforts to obtain them. On the contrary such persons expect that what they want will be forthcoming and look upon the possession of what they want as a natural right. When, therefore, some one else comes forward and furnishes it they may not even be thankful, for it is no more than they expected.

On the other hand there are many persons who because of some defect feel themselves inferior in the struggle to get on, and with them the instinct for dominance endeavors to make up for this feeling of inferiority; it tends to do away with the feeling of apprehension and lack of safety which such inferiority causes and thus becomes a motive to overcome the inferiority and acquire safety — the safety motive for

conduct. For example, a person may be handicapped by a defect in speech. Such a handicap makes him feel inferior and unequal to others. As a result he devotes himself unreservedly to the effort to correct his speech defect. In this way not only may he acquire practically normal speech and so overcome his sense of inferiority and feeling of apprehension, but, because he turns his whole energy in this one direction, he may actually become superior. Demosthenes the stammerer became the greatest orator of Greece. Similarly others develop superior powers in attempting to overcome defects. Many young men have taken up the study of medicine because they were themselves ill and wished both to cure themselves where others had failed and also to spare others the sufferings they had endured.

So the ego-instinct goes far in its ramifications from the first cry of discomfort which attempts to control the environment. In its wider reaches it comprises all of those activities which make for the enlargement and the power of the personality

to adjust and control circumstances in the largest sense. At its lower levels it is represented by such a characteristic as gluttony, which seeks to find complete satisfaction in purely selfish indulgence, the control of conditions which minister only to selfish ends, to bodily satisfactions. Its best recognized adult activities have to do with the acquirement of wealth and position. Its uncorrected activities are essentially selfish and not infrequently they may be cruel and inhuman, but power once acquired may and should become an agent of great beneficence and does when united with those elements of character which make for helpful and constructive ends. Progress is away from purely selfish ends.

THE RACE-PRESERVATIVE (SEXUAL) INSTINCT

The race-preservative instinct which has as its immediate object the perpetuation of the species and as its motive pleasure, is, in its ultimate ramifications, unselfish and in its aims and objects it is creative. However, like the ego-instinct, it often goes

awry and not infrequently works to the disadvantage of the individual and of the race. As with the ego-instinct I will illustrate the operation of the pleasure motive which is back of the race-preservative instinct.

The race-preservative instinct puts a premium of pleasure upon all activities which look towards such a relation of the sexes as leads to reproduction. This means not only those activities, — courtship, — which lead up to copulation but those further activities based upon love for the progeny which insure the adequate care and raising of the child until it is able to take its place in the world. All these latter activities are generally described as being due to the parental instinct. I include it here under the head of the race-preservative instinct as it seems quite as important for the race that the pregnant woman should be cared for and after her the child as that impregnation should have taken place in the first instance. I thus also include all those activities under the designation sexual for the similar reason

that they are all only further ramifications of the primal instinct.

In its various frustrations the sex instinct stops on the way of its creative evolution and is satisfied with various autoerotic, masturbatory activities which are calculated to furnish sensory pleasure to the individual, but at the same time to offer a means of escape from all the responsibilities which normally result from the activities of this instinct and also prevent those higher activities which alone furnish a full and complete expression for the personality. Masturbation, for example, the type of all such activities, seeks to gain all the pleasure from the sexual act but would avoid all the responsibilities which normally flow from coitus. The masturbator, therefore, is a self-sufficient person, who loves himself (selfish), his own body, who does not need another person of the opposite sex to complete his fulfillment, and by the same token remains wrapped up in his own interest in himself, quite unable to give adequately in the social scheme of human relationships and therefore he re-

mains seriously crippled in all creative directions. It is this crippling limitation of the personality which masturbation favors that is the greatest danger. The crippling of the personality, its deformation by self-indulgence in its period of formative growth is a serious handicap indeed and one that may never be overcome but may limit the individual in his possibilities throughout life.

Many activities are distinctly sexual in this broader sense. For example, the tendency to dress exquisitely, to wear many attractive jewels, and to use paint and powder are all, in their fundamental purpose, unconsciously designed to attract the opposite sex, but when they become ends in themselves they make for the development of such character traits as vanity, which is essentially the sign of a shallow personality. The same may be said of the overdevelopment of all of the activities that make for personal luxury, which seeks for pleasure but which gives nothing and assumes no responsibilities. Aside from such concretely sexual examples all creative

tendencies are in their ultimate analysis traceable to the sex (race-preservative) instinct. The work of the artist, the builder, the teacher, the writer, of all in fact who express themselves in their work and are creative in it is but the transformation of energies which have their origin in the specifically creative instinct for an act of a creative-sexual nature.

These two instincts and these corresponding motives for conduct, — namely, the domination motive or the "will to power" and the pleasure motive, — are at the bottom of all conduct. I have given such illustrations as will make clear what is meant by them, what they are attempting to attain. As a matter of fact, in a large proportion of human activities both motives are operative. For example, the accumulation of money, which is at bottom usually or at least often an ego-instinct activity, may have the race-preservative goal also, as where a man trys to accumulate enough money so that he can afford to marry and support a family. I shall have constantly to refer to both of these motives

in the succeeding pages, and when I do not mention them explicitly it will often be easy to see that their operation is implied from the results.

The development of the personality make-up is dependent upon the compromises and solutions which are reached as these two motives sway back and forth in their efforts to gain control of the individual. The tendency, however, is always toward better adjustments, higher aims, and it is the function of mental hygiene and education to free all the better, more constructive tendencies from the crippling domination of instincts which, by their operation, would impair the fullest expression of the powers and possibilities of the individual.

Chapter III

The Development of the Child

I WILL now briefly sketch the development of the child as it is impelled along its course by the drive of its primitive instincts. This will be a story of how it comes more and more to a command of those forces which make for its own preservation and for the perpetuation of the race. It is a struggle which reaches its culmination in adulthood and then slowly declines in force, as the powers of the individual are weakened, and ends ultimately in death. Death itself is, however, by no means synonymous with failure. It of course involves the destruction of the individual as such, but there are good reasons for believing that death is essential when life is looked at in the large and not as an individual problem. It would, for example, be impossible to transmit by a never ending stream of germ

plasm a constantly increasing heritage to future generations because the earth would have long since developed its full quota of possible individuals that could be supported upon it and reproduction would have to cease if all were immortal. Then too, if accidents occurred, as they do, such a population would soon come to be made up largely of the maimed and crippled. Death is necessary so that the world may be kept free for the best development of life upon it. Life and death are such opposites as night and day — without one the other would be impossible.

Following birth the baby continues those apparently aimless movements of body and limbs which it already had commenced while still in its mother's body and which there gave rise to her feelings of "life." These movements, although apparently aimless, in reality have their great importance. As a result of them the baby begins to acquire a considerable series of sensory experiences: it strikes its limbs against objects which are hard and which are soft, it gets the sensation of coolness

which follows waving its arms through the air, and it touches and strikes against objects which at the same time produce other sensory experiences as, for example, objects which produce the simple visual impressions possible at this time. Finally the child receives sensations from the contracting muscles and from the moving joints. In all these myriad ways the child is building up a background of sensory experiences with the help of which it will form its world in which it is to live.

In addition to these movements, all sorts of sensations assail the new born baby — sensations which it experiences for the first time. Just as its world thus far described is made up of indefinite masses of soft and hard, warm and cool things and the like, so the other sensory experiences are equally indefinite. It cannot be said to see anything in the sense that we see but only to experience blotches of brightness or shadow, some of which strangely move across its field of vision. These patches of light and dark may be associated with its sensations of touch as it throws out its

limbs and comes in contact with pillows or other objects. Sounds of all sorts assail its ears but it has no idea of their meaning or whence they come, but it sometimes happens that some of these sounds emanate from the patches of light and darkness and, too, from some of those that move. It happens that a certain soft, cooing sound issues from such an indefinite moving object that early becomes associated in the child's mind with the relief of discomfort, — the mother, — and that other harsher sounds issue from another object, — the father, — and when they do, other similar appearing things begin to move. This moving of objects (persons) following upon certain sounds (the voice of the father) seems like magic and is the child's first experience of power and authority which later come to be associated with the father.

This primitive world of perceptions can thus be seen to be very simple comparatively and very different from the world in which the adult lives. It differs in still other and more important particulars than those mentioned. I refer to the directions

of the interests of the child. Before discussing this aspect of the problem I will try briefly to convey what sort of concept I have in mind when I use the word "interest."[1] I take it that what we call interest is the psychological aspect of what, for want of a better term, we might well call the creative energy of the individual that urges him along on the upward path of growth and development. We shall see as we progress that development proceeds contemporaneously and in proportion as the interests of the individual branch out and become broader and deeper. That which distinguishes the infant is its simple, undeveloped interests, which have only succeeded in building up a world of the simplest sensations and sensation groups. This same interest, however, continues to push its way outward into the world of reality, and penetrating further and further, by processes at once of analysis and synthesis, builds up (becomes acquainted with) a world of ever increasing complexity, to

[1] Other terms are commonly used to express what I term interest, but I believe this word best for the purposes of this book.

which it thus serves at the same time to relate the individual with more and more accuracy. Interest, then, conceived of in terms of energy, could be further thought of as representing energy under pressure which, by a never ending feeling out (analysis) of the environment, makes unremitting demands upon the child to go further and further in the process of relating itself to reality.

This creative energy, then, manifesting itself psychologically as interest, pushes further and further into the environment and attaches itself to an ever increasing number of objects. Our sense organs, eyes, ears, skin, etc. (there are a large number of them, many more than the proverbial five), serve the purpose of analyzing the environment and so defining new objects for the attachment of our interest. The development of the individual could then well be followed and understood by a study of the objects of his interest as they increased in number and changed in character from year to year.

And it is important to appreciate at this

point that the driving forces back of the interest, that is the forces which direct the interest upon this object rather than upon that, are the primitive instincts of self-preservation and race-preservation — hunger and sex.

The ego-instinct shows itself very early in the attempts which are constant to dominate the conditions of the environment. Crying, as already indicated, is a means employed, not only as an expression of discomfort, but as a means to bring that discomfort to an end. Inasmuch as the child is surrounded by persons who love it and try to satisfy its every want, it develops all sorts of expressions and signs calculated to make them do its will. A sign of impatience when the rattle is dropped brings it at once back to its hand through the solicitous attention of the mother or nurse, who picks it up and restores it. Then the child throws the rattle down, charmed at the magic of its control, only to find the same sequence of events repeated. Such experiences develop a tyranny over the persons of its environment by His Majesty

the Baby, until finally, if for no other reason, as a result of the necessities inherent in the relations themselves, there must come a break in the manifestations of its seemingly magic power. The nurse is too tired to respond, the realities tend to be borne in upon the mind of the child, and it thus is forced to seek other and better methods for bringing its desires to pass. It must perforce learn more and more of the real properties of persons and things and succeed or fail in molding them to its purpose in proportion to its ability to deal with them as they really are, rather than as it might wish them to be. Children who are humored and pampered in this period are prevented from acquiring this necessary experience and carry over into later periods of their development all of those attributes which were developed to command others and so become domineering and selfish, and also are without that capacity for either appreciating or understanding the realities or adjusting themselves according to their limitations and demands.

The love interests of the child undergo a similar development as manifested by the objects of its attachment. The love at first has an equally limited, even perhaps a more limited field for attachment, being limited to the person of the mother, who is practically the only person with whom the child comes in contact. The mother being the first love-object is therefore of supreme importance in the love life of the individual, the development of which ever remains conditioned by this first experience. The mother too as source of nutrition is also the first object towards which the hunger instinct is directed, and so in this sense is doubly important as a starting point for all those interests of the child which are directed outside its own body.

As development proceeds, the changing aspects of the child's love interests can be seen by noting the increasing number and varying kind of love-objects upon which it is projected. After the mother come the father, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, grandparents, nurses, and in fact all who constitute the immediate household.

Not only do the several members of the household come in for their share of the love interests of the child but the dogs and cats, horses and cows, pigs, chickens and other animals help share it, split it up, broaden its manifestations, and deepen the child's experience by stimulating its interests in an ever increasing number of directions. Nor are animate objects the only ones that come in for this treatment. The child ascribes life to the inanimate objects of its environment and treats them accordingly; this tendency is helped along by the first dolls, which are not only animated by the projected interests of the child, but are given definite personalities, also representing the child's particular interests, and are treated accordingly, and so become, like real persons, objects by means of which the love interests of the child gain expression and develop by actual practice. In this way the love of the child is led from love-object to love-object over a path which constantly leads it along the way of better, deeper, more satisfying expression, more and more approaching

the adult characteristics, and always in the direction of those activities which will ultimately lead to parenthood itself and the development of the parental, instinctive love activities and to that complete unfolding of the personality — possibilities which are the expression of a well rounded character which has been freed along the way from infantile drag-backs to development.

Chapter IV

Stages of Development

Period of Infancy (1 to 5 years)

DURING the first four years of life the infant yields unreservedly to its instinctive promptings, reaching out in all directions for new experiences and thus acquiring that background of information about the environment which is a precondition to further development. In addition to this the infant is also accumulating all those experiences which aid it in building up that concept of its own personality which is such a basic factor in the subsequent problems of life. The infant of a few weeks old, for example, has no way of knowing that the foot or hand it sees before it belongs to itself, is a part of its own body, any more than is the chair, or the foot or hand of some one else. Children not infrequently try to grasp the hand

they see with the same hand and actually cannot understand why, when they do so, the hand they were looking at disappears. Innumerable experiences of this and similar character are required before the infant learns just what are parts of its own body and what are not. Pain is an extremely useful experience in the progress of such knowledge, for the child learns over and over again, through painful experiences, the safe limit of its activities.

During all this period the instinct of hunger and the pleasure motive for conduct have unrestricted sway. Food is taken whenever hunger prompts and whatever is at hand is swallowed. In fact many things which are not food run the risk of succumbing to this fate, for the mouth is a very important organ of touch at this time. Not only is everything that gets within the infant's grasp at once put into the mouth, but its own hands and feet are treated in the same way. Thus there comes about a series of double sensations which are valuable in helping the infant differentiate itself from the environment.

For example, if it picks up its foot and puts it in its mouth it gets at once a sensation in the mouth and a sensation in the foot, an altogether different experience from putting, say, a rattle, in its mouth, in which instance the latter sort of experience, — sensation in the rattle, — would be lacking. The difference between these two sorts of sensory experiences is very important in distinguishing the "self" from the "not self." There are many other series of double sensations, the more important of which are the combinations of touch and sight (touching things seen), touch and sound (touching things heard), touch and muscle sense (touching things reached for), which is really usually still more complicated, for the object is usually also seen or heard and the combination is therefore vision or sound, muscle sense and touch.[1]

The taking of food is purely instinctive, not at all guided by intelligent choice of

[1] See, for a particularly happy description of this aspect of development, Millicent Washburn Shinn: "The Biography of a Baby," Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1900.

even the simplest character, so that the young infant is wholly dependent upon its adult caretakers as to what it will get. If perchance they are ignorant it may fall ill, as it frequently does, for many of the diseases of the digestive apparatus in infants are due to the unintelligent giving of food by the mother; for example, the giving of starches before the development of the pancreas has made it possible for this class of foodstuffs to be digested.

The control of conduct by the pleasure motive is absolute for this period of development. It is an absolutism, however, which is shortly to be lost, never to be regained. The infant is without all of those inhibitions to conduct which the adult always preserves in some measure. It is without shame, for instance, and if it suits its pleasure will kick off its clothing and revel in nakedness, it matters not who or how many may be present at the time. It is the same about the movements of the bowels and the passage of urine. These bodily functions are performed in response to the normal physiological urge without

thought of time or place. The instinct is yielded to at once when it suits His Majesty without regard to others in any way whatever.

In the same way that the infant yields to the calls of nature in a natural and unashamed way, and shows no shame at its own nakedness, so it lacks other inhibitions to conduct and indulges its tendencies free from their influence. Curiosity about anything and everything that may be of interest is indulged without hesitation. Many children become interrogation marks, putting a constant stream of questions upon every imaginable subject, not a few of which may be seriously embarrassing to the adult. It is obvious that such an attitude of mind properly dealt with affords a wonderful opportunity for teaching.

The unqualified self-interest (selfishness) of the infant also comes to the fore undisguised and unashamed. A desire for the toy of brother or sister is acted upon at once by taking it away from its possessor, with perhaps no hesitation in administering a slap if necessary. Such assaults

show besides a tendency to disregard the sufferings of others, for the crying that results from such conduct is unheeded. Then too it is quite usual for children really to like to cause suffering, a species of amusement that the household cat very frequently is called upon to serve. Animals are frequently tortured, insects are killed and maimed, and even younger brothers and sisters come in for similar treatment.

Jealousy is likewise a trait of this period of development. The infant craves affection and a younger child that requires a great deal of attention from the mother is genuinely and openly hated because it appropriates the attentions of the mother which the older infant not only wants for itself but previous to the arrival of the newcomer did have almost exclusively. Antagonism to the father may arise from similar causes because he takes the time and attention of the mother that the infant wants for itself.

All of these interests of the child are self-centered, that is, are essentially selfish.

Just as it had to learn to distinguish its physical self from other objects about it, so it has to learn that there are other beings who have similar sensations, feelings, and ideas. At first the infant has no conception of other selves and has slowly to acquire this knowledge, just as it had to acquire a knowledge of its physical self as distinguished from other objects, by experience much of which is painful. If it has taken a toy from another child and incidentally slapped its face, why that was only in the course of fulfilling its wish; but when some day another child treats it in that way, takes its toy away and slaps its face, then that is an experience of quite a different sort. Contacts with others constantly reflect these others as having the same sorts of feelings and desires and the same needs and means for satisfying them. Repeated conflicts of desires with other children tend to build up a concept of other selves like it, and if the conflicts are with others on the average of equal powers there then begins that appreciation of others which later grows into such a mutual

respect, understanding, and sympathy as are at the basis of that capacity for mutual concessions which make human society possible.

Much of the activities of the infant, such as its unconcern at showing itself naked and the direction of its curiosity, are of a nature that later is recognized as sexual and during this period there is apt to be a short period of masturbatory activities. The curiosity is frequently displayed about sex matters, in fact the great question of these years, made emphatic by an addition to the family or to a neighbor's family, is "Where do babies come from?" Many are the theories formulated, and the explanations of the parents that the stork or the doctor brings them are seldom accepted for long.

All of the conduct of the infant is self-centered, frankly and openly selfish, unashamed and often cruel and of a character which would be called in an adult immoral and antisocial. In the child, however, it is better termed amoral and asocial, as nothing corresponding to a moral sense

or to social qualities can as yet be said to have developed. They are in the making.

This period of infancy with all its budding possibilities, all its beginnings, trials, and failures, its blazing of trails and its fundamental formulations (time and space) is the most important period of life. This is the period when all the tendencies which are to be the motive forces in the future history of the individual acquire their initial direction; it is the time when the foundations for the future character are laid. As previously indicated (Chapter I), heredity is coming to be less and less of a satisfactory explanation for character traits because, in the first place, such traits belong to that region which may reasonably be supposed to be modifiable and not so necessary in its detailed make-up as to require fixation by heredity; and in the second place, because so many character traits can actually be modified by treatment, while an explanation resting in heredity would close the door to all effort. The psycho-analyst sees in these first four years, or thereabouts, of infancy the period

when the fundamentals of character are laid down and therefore sees in these years both the material for therapeutic effort and the golden period of educational possibilities. I shall have frequently to refer to this period and its characteristics.

THE LATENCY PERIOD (5 YEARS TO PUBERTY)

The amoral, asocial child of the period of infancy, guided solely by its instincts, undergoes changes at about five years of age, the object of which is to bring the instincts into the service of cultural aims (moral and social). How much these changes are inherently necessary and thus are independent of outside influences and how much such influences are responsible for them it is impossible to state because all children seem to undergo them, but, too, all children are surrounded by similar conditions that make such changes understandable.

These changes consist in general in the suppression, or more technically, the repression of the frank, instinctive tendencies, an effort to disregard their promptings, and

a distinct effort to fit into conventional requirements and make the accepted moral and social standards goals for conduct. This involves an about face for the infant who has hitherto followed only selfish aims. The conduct which has been natural to him up to this time is now no longer indulged in, at least not openly, and if perchance he is discovered in any small self-indulgences his reaction is one of shame. To his nakedness, his overt sexual activities, his curiosity in forbidden subjects, he reacts with shame if in the presence of others, or all conduct along such lines is effectively repressed so that it does not take place at all. Similarly with such pleasure as grows out of the infant's interest in its bowel movement and in urination. There now arises in place of such pleasure an actual disgust.

Shame and disgust are largely conditioned if not actually caused by the constantly repeated reactions of the adults in the infant's immediate environment. They invariably call the child to account for conduct which is not in keeping with their

standards and by their exclamations and remarks indicate that it is either conduct to be ashamed of, or else that it is disgusting. Shame thus grows up, more especially as the typical reaction to matters sexual, and disgust as the typical reaction to things that are dirty, particularly that pertain to the functions and products of excretion. However, these two reactions are not mutually exclusive, as a moment's thought will prove: disgust for sexual activities, for example, being a not uncommon form of reaction.

Shame and disgust then become more or less effectual barriers erected to dam the activities of the instincts in certain directions. The problem of the next few years, in fact, the main problem of the rest of life, is to find other means of exit for the energies thus arrested, means of activity which shall be useful and socially acceptable.

The strength of these reactions (shame and disgust) is rendered necessary by the strength of the tendencies which they have to hold in check. Any less vigorous re-

actions would hardly succeed. The child, and for that matter the adult, is never any too far from the possibilities of tabooed conduct of the character indicated and so is never safe unless he has at his disposal powerful emotional reactions with which to combat those tendencies which otherwise would call it forth. The instinctive tendencies still represent desires, of course become unconscious by repression but nevertheless desires. Shame and disgust therefore are for the purpose of repressing activities (sexual) which the individual (child) wishes to indulge in. The repression has to be effected by strong counter feelings and the strength of the desires is thus seen to be in proportion to the degree of shame or disgust called upon to keep them effectually under control.

During the latency period, then, the selfish, instinctive tendencies drop into the background. They are by no means eliminated, however. They continue to exist but are kept out of vision by a system of espionage — repression. As strong and as effective as this repression may be, however,

it is seldom strong enough to prevent at least an occasional breaking through when some one, mayhap, of the old, familiar activities outcrops in the conduct. Masturbatory activities are not uncommon, cruelty reactions often occur, as of course do most of the other types of conduct. Exhibitionism is not apt to manifest itself in the crude form of nakedness, while curiosity commonly continues, but usually in a veiled and somewhat obscured form.

PERIOD OF PUBERTY (ABOUT 15 YEARS)

At the onset of puberty there is a great revolution in the affective life of the child. Particularly the sexual instinct comes again to the fore with redoubled energy and demands recognition. Not infrequently it is unable to find adequate outlets in acceptable forms of conduct and a considerable period of masturbatory activity is apt to characterize this period. This activity, however, if not excessive and prolonged, has not the serious significance ordinarily given to it (Chapter II). The various pleasure activities of the period of infancy (ex-

hibitionism, curiosity, etc.) may be reactivated now, with a special sexual coloring; they afford, as it were, already existing points of attachment for the more greatly enhanced sexual feelings which thus use them to gain an outlet in expression. Such avenues of expression, having been successfully used before, now lend themselves anew to the service of the child whose greatly increased necessities for expression, because of the outcrop of the sexual feelings, require all possible avenues to be utilized. In thus being used again, however, they acquire, are loaded with, the sexual feeling of the period. The higher aims of the individual, when blocked in their efforts at expression, turn back and seek those lower levels that, in an earlier period of development, served as channels of outlet (expression).

All of these activities, however, are regressive in character; that is, they are reanimations of infantile pleasure activities under the necessity for outlet created by the greatly enhanced sexual urge.

The important progressive change in the

conduct of the child which is also conditioned by the great increase in the sexual energies is the development of interest in the opposite sex and the growth of all that series of activities which are grouped together under the designation courtship. This is the beginning in the child of that interest in others which leads on to marriage, parenthood, the development of the so-called parental instinct, the maintenance of a family, and the education of children of its own and their projection into the world, even as it was educated in the family milieu and afterwards helped to establish itself in the world upon its own feet.

Inasmuch, however, as frank sexual experiences at this age of sexual awakening are still not permissible the instinctive tendencies towards others of the opposite sex have still to find a sublimated [1] form of

[1] By sublimation is meant that process by which a given form of instinctive tendency is diverted from its immediate aim into activities which, while socially acceptable, are also more or less adequate substitutions for the acts instinctively desired. For example, women find great satisfaction as teachers, the relation of teacher and children being a substitution for the really desired relation of mother and child.

outlet. During this period all of the social activities are brought into play (games, parties, dances, picnics, etc.) still further to develop those relations between children which will more and more fit them for the coming experiences of courtship, love, marriage and parenthood, and, too, lead on to better and better social adjustments which in later life will make for broad qualities of citizenship.

Not only are the heterosexual activities thus led into ever better adjustment, but other forms of sublimation are taking place. The ego-instincts are also being socialized. The absolute selfishness of the infant now has to give way to the demands of others to the end of harmony; and in order that certain desired activities (games) may be carried out, gluttony, uncleanliness, disorderlinesses of all sorts have to be brought into line to serve ends which are more desirable, therefore they give way.

In the development of the sex instinct several well defined stages are passed through. At first the child is interested solely in its own body, its own sensations, it is auto-

erotic. This is the period of frank interest in nakedness, urination, etc., — the period of infancy. Later it develops an interest (love) for others. This love, however, first goes to others most like itself, that is of the same sex and so is homosexual. This is the stage of Narcissism.[1] Then finally comes that development of object-love which desires a beloved person of the opposite sex and so is heterosexual. The logic of this progression is apparent. The child can only get from a state of being in love with itself to being in love with some one else of the opposite sex by passing through an intermediary stage of being in love with some one else but some one like itself, that is of the same sex (homosexual). The individual who is stopped or delayed at this period of development is prevented from making those wider, larger adjustments which are essential to a rounded out biological career.

While it will not be the object of this book to enter at length into the subject

[1] So named after the Greek legend of Narcissus who fell in love with his own reflection in the pool.

of the aberrations of the sex instinct, I do feel the necessity of calling attention to some of the more obvious ones. The homosexual tendency is one of the most common, and results because of a failure to pass this point in development safely. The period of puberty, while giving full play to the heterosexual tendencies as already indicated, should equally stress the homosexual sublimations. The boy should have the opportunities of athletics, of boys' clubs and games, and thus get full expression on this side rather than carry into adult life an unfulfilled component which will always be seeking expression. Similarly the girl should have opportunities in girls' organizations. In this way the periods of puberty and adolescence can be seen to be periods of development during which both the ego and sex instincts are gaining socially acceptable forms of expression which more and more fit the child for its place in the world as a member of the herd and as a parent.

All persons have both homosexual and heterosexual components in their make-up

and both have to be given adequate and proper expression. We shall see later that the Narcissistic component is capable of great usefulness in formulating an ego-ideal. That is an ideal for self. It is only necessary that these two components should be properly proportioned and that the homosexual should drop into its place and be sublimated to such useful ends as the formulation of a valuable ego-ideal and also as an incentive to social activities of a constructive character. Much of the best social science work is done under the influence of a sublimated homosexual ideal.

Chapter V

The Family Situation

I HAVE now sketched the development of the child from several different angles and very briefly indicated the course that development takes, the direction in which it is headed, and the way, in general, in which the material along the way is dealt with. I now propose, in this chapter, to take up a discussion of the concrete family situation, for this is the common factor in all children's lives and the most important single factor in the part it plays in the subsequent history of the child in fixing those characteristics which go into the structure of the personality.

By the members of the family I mean those persons in the family situation that come into immediate contact with the child. They include the parents, brothers and sisters, nurses, sometimes one or more of the grandparents, uncles and aunts, and

servants. Of course there may be others, particularly step-parents or foster parents.

The great importance of the family lies in the fact that the persons composing it are the first human objectives of the child's interest and love and that that interest and love must of necessity receive their first set, first impression, first form as a result of these first experiences. The love of the child takes its form, its quality, from the nature of the response it meets in these others. A love which is fully returned gives complete satisfaction. A love which is not returned at all gives no satisfaction but uneasiness, discomfort, even hate, and a love which is partly returned may yield any possible intermediate degree of satisfaction which may vary in both quality and quantity in any degree, depending upon the finer personal adjustments arrived at. It is easy, therefore, to appreciate the supreme importance of the first experiences for the future and how they condition what that future must be.

In the first place love which goes out from the child to the parent has a sex

preference — the little boy preferring the mother and the little girl preferring the father. This is not only true, but it is equally true of the parents that they quite generally prefer the child of the sex the opposite of their own. This attachment to the parent is obviously the most important of all the child's attachments because it is of necessity the first, and all other loves, for instance, of brothers and sisters, tend to be pressed into the form which this first experience takes. Further than this there is a distinct priority and emphasis upon the love for the mother, no matter what the sex of the child, because of her necessary position (she is the first to minister to the helpless infant), and also because of her very much more intimate and constant relations with it during its early years.

For the infant the father and mother are marvelously wonderful at first, because they are the only persons in its experience and therefore do not suffer by comparison with others. Later this supremacy is maintained for a time when others come also to

be known but is finally lost when experience has demonstrated that there are greater and more powerful men than the father, and younger and more beautiful women than the mother. At first, that is to say, all other people receive their value in the estimation of the child by comparison with the incomparable parents, — the father, the greatest and most powerful of men, the mother, the sweetest and most beautiful of women.

In this apparently ideal situation there are bound soon to come disturbing elements. Such a disturbing element is very definitely added in the person of a new child. The child's attitude towards a newly arrived baby is well known to frequently be anything but one of unalloyed pleasure. Open manifestations of jealousy and hostility are not uncommon. I recall being called hurriedly to see a new-born baby who had been violently attacked by one of the other children of the family (aged about three years) during a few moments' absence of the mother. The older child had freely pounded the face of the baby with

its father's shaving brush and then apparently tried to jab its eyes out with a pin taken from the mother's hat. The baby's face was covered with blood when the mother returned, one eye had been slightly injured and timely intervention alone probably spared the baby from the most serious consequences.

Exhibitions of jealousy, though fortunately not so serious as that just recorded, are common enough as between the different children. It is not so generally recognized, however, that jealousy also exists towards the parents, particularly toward the parent of the same sex. Being more particularly attracted towards the parent of the opposite sex the child is jealous of the other parent. The boy, for example, who loves his mother is jealous of his father because the father comes in for so much attention and affection from the mother that the child feels should by rights be his.

Coupled with this attraction for the parent of the opposite sex and jealousy of the parent of the same sex, is also a tendency to emulate, to try to be like the parent of

the same sex. One of the fondest desires of the child is to grow up, to be big, the little boy to be like father, the little girl like mother. In this way the child identifies itself with the parent of the same sex, takes his or her place, as it were, in the affections of the other parent. The child thus succeeds in accomplishing by indirection what it could not otherwise succeed in doing. These emotional relations to the parents are very important, the child often developing character traits directly dependent upon them. The character of the parent taken as a type is thus of prime importance, as is also the character of the parent who brings out all the antagonistic attitudes of the child. It depends much upon them what the future of the child is to be. A father who is a tyrant in the household may easily cause such a revulsion of feeling in the child that later he is unable to yield to any authority whatever, but on the contrary arrays himself against authority wherever he may find it, in the person of the teacher, in the shape of laws and customs, even in the form of the ab-

stract concept of the state. It is of such material that the anarchist is made. A father, on the contrary, who exercises his authority in a reasonable and successful way may become a model of the greatest usefulness in shaping the career of his children.

Not infrequently, too, an invalided parent may be taken as a type and in the later life of the child all the parent's weaknesses and even illnesses may be reproduced in a way that is no less than startling, a fact which has usually been ascribed to heredity but which is, often at least, more properly ascribed to this mechanism of identification. It is remarkable how frequently one sees character traits repeating themselves in children; often at the corresponding period in life. Suicide is a well known example of conduct repeated in succeeding generations.

Whatever the character of the parents, however, the child cannot continue to keep the idealistic picture formed in its infancy of the father as the greatest and most powerful of men and the mother as

the sweetest and most beautiful of women. Sooner or later it must compare its parents with other men and women and in that comparison there are bound to develop points in which the parents, no matter how excellent they may be, show to disadvantage. This period of disillusionment is reacted to differently by different children, but in the main and generally along the line of attempting to restore the lost illusions. In response to this desire the child builds up phantasies of being the child of very important or rich parents, or parents of great power, or perhaps belonging to royalty. Such dreams are common among children and often enter into their play. Later on, in the mental disorders of adolescence, they come to the fore very prominently. The main point is that an analysis of the royal parents shows that they possess the same qualities as the real ones so that the phantasy has as its object, not the demeaning of the parents, but their exaltation. It is an effort to make them again as wonderful as they were in the period of infancy. The effort

is to recall the sense of satisfaction and safety of the golden years gone by.

All of the various attitudes towards the parents are of importance to bear in mind because they are repeated over and over again, with certain variations, in the child's attitude towards others, particularly other member of the family milieu. The brothers and sisters attract and repel the love interests of the child in quite the same way as the parents, while aunts and uncles, and nurses, step-parents, and foster parents, become surrogates, substitutes in the affections of the child for the real parents.

One can understand these relations the better when the love interests of the child are thought of in terms of feeling, which is projected upon first one and then another person, but tending always to preserve its original form, which was shaped in relation to the first love experiences with the parents.

In relation to the grandparents the child is most apt to come first into relation with death. One of the old people dies and the only thing that results in the experience of the child is that they do not come back.

This experience, that people go away and do not come back, is woven into the child's feelings of jealousy and animosity against its rivals. The little boy, for example, will wish that father might die so that he may possess wholly the love of his dear mother. Similarly with brothers and other antagonists. The death wish, however, can be seen to have none of the adult values but is only a way the child has of expressing his desire for possession free from the intrusion of rivals.

This brief account of the relations in feeling between the child and the different members of the family gives a very different picture from that ordinarily drawn and presents a very different state of affairs from that ordinarily thought to exist, in spite of the fact that evidence to support this view is found in the almost universal conflicts of parents and children and between the children themselves. All of which only goes to show how strong is the desire for things as we believe they were in that golden past which we always try again to realize in the present.

The reason for these mutual antagonisms is not far to seek. It is in the urgent necessity for emancipation in the face of the serious results which are sure to follow if it is not attained. Herein lies one of the most, if not the most important lesson in the mental hygiene of childhood. Namely, that the whole process of the child's development has as its goal its emancipation from the parents, so that its own life may be free to develop to the fullest without the hindrances that are inevitable if there continues an attachment to the home that is in the nature of a dependence upon it. A full, free development of the personality is only possible if it is free from a crippling dependence of any sort. From this it follows that the problem of the parents in guiding that development can be best met only in the full consciousness of the object to be attained and the possession of enough love on their part to work unconditionally to that end.

The parent-child relation is in general conceived of as containing all that there is beautiful, while the eyes are closed to those

features of conflict which I have brought out. This is but a natural defense reaction against the disagreeable. It will, however, be instructive to analyze still further this relationship, particularly in respect to those disharmonies that are of such significance.

In the first place, I have already indicated how the child seeks in fancy to retain the infantile images of its parents even to the extent, in pathological cases, of renouncing his real parents altogether and putting in their place persons of royalty, of great power and wealth. In this way it seeks for that background of safety, comfort, freedom from the necessity for effort which is always beckoning to us and trying to ensnare us by its wiles to lay down our several tasks and accept indolence and irresponsibility. It is the dragback of those days when as infants we had but to cry for a thing to have it placed in our hands by some apparently magic power. It is hard, nay, quite impossible, to give up yearning for that golden period of omnipotence. The parent images, formed in in-

fancy, are the ghosts out of the past that beckon. It is emancipation from these ghosts which is the object of education, the goal of development.

On the other hand, from the standpoint of the parents: They frequently forget the goal of development, indeed they do not even know it, and so are unable from lack of knowledge to help the child along the path as they should; for real help involves a preparation of the child to renounce them, as it were, to be able to get along without them, without all those ministrations which have become so dear to them, so sweet to give. Thus does the instinctive love of children and parental love play back and forth to the mutual advantage, or, mayhap, the disadvantage of both.

Chapter VI

Intermediary Summary

BEFORE taking up the more specific problems of the mental hygiene of childhood it will be useful to pause for a little and take account of stock, sum up the conclusions we have already reached and rearrange them in such an orderly manner in our thinking as will be helpful in proceeding to further considerations.

The great creative force or energy manifests itself in the child in certain definite ways which are the results of the ages of development and evolution in attempting to solve the problem of life — the problem of effectively relating the living organism to its environment. Thus the child comes into the world with certain definite endowments, limitations, if you will, with which to take up its problems. These endowments, however, far from being al-

together limiting are the necessary preconditions for effective living, for they are the solutions which have thus far been reached and laid down in structure. Thus the liver is the solution which animal life has given to the problem of how to best utilize sugar in the animal economy (the problem of the metabolism of sugar); the gastro-intestinal tract is the solution which animal life has offered to the problem of metabolism in general, that is, of how to make food (foreign animal, vegetable, and mineral matter and water) available for renewing the waste of the tissues; the kidney is the answer to the problem of how to take care of the waste products, etc. These solutions are therefore essential to begin with, for they represent the gains which have already been made and therefore can be used as new starting points. Otherwise each animal would have to begin at the beginning and life would thus never get very far on the road of developing higher types of organisms. When we realize that the evolution of the human species alone has extended,

according to the latest calculations, over a period of five hundred thousands of years, we get some idea of what it means to be able to begin where our progenitors left off.

The child, at birth, comes into the world with this heritage from the past which from now on becomes progressively of less and less relative importance as the immediate problems of the present moment press more and more insistently for solution. The past tends thus to become ever more of a foundation upon which the child proceeds to erect a structure of ever increasing complexity, which stands for, represents, its solutions of its problems. Throughout this structure there necessarily runs the influence of that past. Its design is an expression of that past, but as the structure rises its details are more and more those of the individual.

From the very first we have seen the infant controlled by two fundamental instincts, the ego-instinct and the pleasure-pain instinct, which lie back of and direct its conduct. The ego-instinct we have

seen at work in the infant's effort to dominate its environment, an effort which is doomed to ever increasing failure from the standpoint of an attempt to return to the state of unconditioned omnipotence which maintained in its mother's uterus, but which, on the other hand, is continually succeeding to the extent that the demands of reality are met and adequately adjusted to. The pleasure-pain motive we saw in operation as the infant, in trying to separate itself from the environment, found out what belonged to it, was constantly being, so to speak, made to realize what was really its own by repeated painful contacts with an unrelenting environment.

From now on these two instincts are in constant play and also in constant conflict, for from the very first it must be that their aims are in natural opposition, their interests cross. For example, the child's ego-instinct bids it eat unduly, pain warns it of the necessity of controlling appetite in order to remain well. Later on their antagonism becomes of great importance when the interests of the individual cross

those of the herd, and as a result the problems of crime, among others, make their appearance.

The ego-instinct continues to play for mastery, but for the future character development it is the pleasure-pain instinct which is the more important. This, as we have seen, is the race-preservative or sex instinct, and therefore we find it manifesting itself closely wrapt up in conduct of a more or less concretely sexual nature.

The picture of development from now on is of a constant play of activities which are conditioned by these fundamental instincts but in which the sex instinct plays an increasing and predominant rôle. The motive power back of even the infantile activities belongs to the pleasure-pain tendencies — the seeking for pleasure and the avoidance of pain. The constant activities are conditioned by the pleasure which the infant feels in, for example, just muscular movement. The tension of the muscles is in itself pleasure giving, a fact which any athlete will testify to in the glorious feeling of power and health which goes with muscles

that are in condition (muscle erotism); the interest in urinating which later plays a part in most boys' tests of rivalry is conditioned by the pleasure-relief which comes from voiding the urine (urethral erotism); it is the same with the movements of the bowels (anal erotism); the pleasure in nakedness comes in part from the pleasure derived from the feeling of the cool air upon the skin (skin erotism) and so on through the whole list. Later on all pleasures are subordinated to the one great, incomparable pleasure which is concentrated in the sex organs, and this pleasure comes to dominate all others and therefore to be the goal of all pleasure-seeking activities.[1]

The sex instinct therefore begins to manifest itself in such concrete ways as

[1] This predominance of the sexual zone is very important. Unless all these other pleasures are subordinated in the hierarchy of pleasures to the one great sex pleasure they maintain their independence and become the basis of sex perversions and neurosis. Aside from this, however, and of supreme importance, is the necessity that the sex activities should offer the greatest of pleasure premiums. If any other activity were equal or greater, that of sex would be in danger of being superseded and the racial existence be jeopardized. The final domination of the sex zone occurs at puberty and a transitory period of masturbation is probably normal in assisting this to come about.

pleasure connected with all sorts of bodily functions. It would never have been supposed that the pleasure attached to these functions had a libidinous nature if it were not for the study of the sex perversions in which we see a return to these pleasures. For example, in the exhibitionist who takes a sexual pleasure in exposing himself to others, often of the opposite sex.

The pleasure motive for conduct then thrusts the child along in the developmental path from interest in self to interest in other selves, at first most like itself (homosexual) then less and less like itself, until finally it is projected into the world of other selves with the capacity for interest in any and all of them. In the meantime, however, it never quite gives up its original bent, still retaining its interest in itself and in others like itself but coming to be predominantly guided by those attractions which are the expression of later tendencies.

This later attraction for others of the opposite sex (heterosexual) had its original set quite as early as the others in the love

for the parent of the opposite sex, and in its later development the character of this original love shows itself in the choice made of objects of interest and affection. There is a double attitude towards others. The child is attracted to others by those qualities which it sees in them that resemble its parents and at the same time it is repelled by those very same qualities because they mean attachment to the home, failure to become emancipated from dependence upon it, lack of independence. And so all of those warring tendencies battle for the victory and the resulting solutions and compromises somehow, in the long run and in general, push the group along to ever higher and higher standards.

Thus the child looms larger in our considerations than just an individual. It is the meeting point, the battle ground of forces whose unending activities aim always to shape its destinies. Some of these forces have their origin in the past, many reside in the present, all help to shape the future. The child is thus much more than individual — it is a bit of life itself and

only represents the particular place where for the time being these various forces have come together, and where, as a result, will be worked out those various and several compromises, solutions, which make up the activities we call conduct; and this, seen in longitudinal section, gives us that impression, abstraction, we call character.

These forces, warring tendencies, instincts, drive it along the path of development. From the earliest period in which it has first to discover itself it must learn to discover others, and those others, as they become more and more unlike the child, and more and more varied in kind, do but testify to the budding and branching of the child's interests; they are but the projections in the outer world of what is taking place within.[1]

[1] To clarify this statement. We may be said to see only what we are looking for. The average person sees in a potted plant only a pretty flower; the botanist sees the shapes and forms of leaves and petals and a thousand other details to which his interests as botanist have led him, but which do not exist for the other observer. The flower has remained the same to the two observers but it revealed itself much or little, depending upon the development of interest in the observer and so in what it finally appeared to each was but the projection of what had taken place within.

The battling forces may be grouped for descriptive purposes into two great instincts but we must not be led astray by such a grouping into thinking that such distinctions really exist so clearly defined. We are limited in our expressions to language which is always much more formal, static, than the moving, plastic, living being in any of its aspects. The child battles, at the very first, for supremacy over its environment, but also from the very first how it shall succeed depends upon the pleasure premium of the two opposite forms of conduct — the aggressive, which makes frontal attacks upon obstacles, or the submissive, which accomplishes results by indirection and by an apparent yielding to outside forces and rather shapes them from within.

Pushed and pushing out into this world of reality, of things and events, the child's interest is attached to persons and things in an ever widening circle of influence. It is attracted in some directions, repelled in others, and both attracted and repelled in still others. The persons to

whom the child is antipathetic, antagonistic, it protects itself from by building up a barrier of hate; but it tends to identify itself with those who attract it. And with still others it develops hate towards some qualities and an effort at identification with respect to certain others. When now we recall that the original set of the child's attractions and repulsions were the results of its first experiences with those first incomparable ones who alone constituted its personal environment — the parents — we begin to sense their enormous influence upon the future of the child and to understand how the results may seem to be, yet not be, due to heredity.

The life force which manifests itself through the child, which really is the child in that portion of it which has been caught for the time being and presented to our view as a concrete individual, constantly streams out of the past forward into the world of reality and like so many rays from myriad searchlights plays first upon this, then upon that object. These pulsating, sensitive streamers of light make near-by

objects stand out in dazzling brilliancy; those farther off may not be so bright but the distance is not clearly perceived; only the differences in illumination are at once evident. The searchlight may rest for a time on some object only to be withdrawn as some vague feeling from the near-by darkness makes it seem desirable to illuminate that area. Objects may be brought to view which are uninteresting and the light is soon withdrawn; which are horrifying, the light is quickly withdrawn; or which are of great interest, the light is permitted to rest upon them indefinitely.

We must think of the child in some such dynamic way as this. Think of it as thrust into the world full of potentialities which can only come into being by being tried out in innumerable directions. Just as the searchlight penetrates the gloom as its rays move first in this direction then in that, so the child by its constant activities, the results of its varied and shifting interests, lights its way into the highways and byways of reality.

The home is, so to speak, the geographical setting in which this play of interests begins. The enormous importance of what this offers to the budding interests of the child can be appreciated. It may very well depend largely on what first fixes the interests of the child as to what its future career may be. The influences that come out of the past and those that shape the first experiences are both of tremendous importance. The first cannot be changed, the latter are undoubtedly capable of great modification and offer the field in which mental hygiene is operative.

Finally it is to be kept in mind that, after all, there is only so much light, and whatever is directed upon certain objects cannot be used for others, or if it is used for others must first be withdrawn. Original directions then come to have an added force when it is realized that the amount of light is limited and therefore the sooner the child gets on the right path the more rapidly will it attain to efficiency in its problems of living.

Chapter VII

Problems

EDUCATION — PUNISHMENT

IN this chapter I wish to discuss briefly a number of the problems that are presented by the child which come within the province of mental hygiene. I naturally shall not attempt to touch upon them all for their number is infinite, in fact as great as the number of individual children. Much, in the last analysis, must always be left to the judgment, good or ill, of those who have direct charge of the child, but a great deal can be accomplished by an understanding of the principles involved, especially as illustrated by more or less concrete problems.

The problem of education is too often narrowly conceived as an affair of the classroom. As a matter of fact the child spends only a minor portion of its time in

school, much the greater part being spent at home or elsewhere, according to circumstances. Elsewhere is not infrequently on the street or in similar uncontrolled situations. If education is for the purpose of fitting the child for efficient living then the influences which affect it during the major part of the day are certainly worthy of attention and should be included in any well rounded plan. Then again, the child is already some years old before the matter of school is thought of at all and during all this pre-school period it has been laying a foundation for the future, in all probability of the very first importance. Education in the larger sense, therefore, begins at the moment of birth and it goes without saying that during all the early period of childhood the influence of the parents is of the greatest importance for the future of the child.

Now, in the first place, education should be an exquisitely individual matter. To the extent that it is made a group affair it tends to drop into a formalism that is more or less destructive of individual de-

velopment and initiative. The necessity of teaching large numbers does require a certain degree of formalism which, however, is of such different kinds as to allow of a considerable degree of free play and individual choice. The fact seems to be that education as carried on does tend to suppress too much that is individual in the interests of the formal scheme, whereas the principle which should control should be that the educator, just like the psychotherapist, should not attempt to mold his material into forms corresponding to his personal ideals but should rather take the position of helping the struggling personality to find expression, to throw off the cloak of its limitations and to come forth to the fullest expression consistent with its possibilities.

From what has already been said of the instincts controlling conduct it will be appreciated that education can by no means be a process solely of instilling ideas, a purely intellectualistic procedure. If, as modern psychology indicates, the instincts lie back of all conduct, then ideas become

but the organs, the tools which carry forth instinct into conduct. It is, therefore, of greater importance to get the instincts pointed right. If this is accomplished the necessary ideas will be easily acquired for carrying them into action; but without the instinctive need, so to speak, the ideas will be almost impossible to instill.

Educational methods to obtain their best results must fall in with the necessities imposed by the make-up of the individual, besides taking into consideration the general average of the group as a standard. This latter has heretofore been stressed too much, while the former has been largely limited to a consideration of the atypical child who was so far out of the way of the normal — that is, the usual — as to constitute a definite difficulty in carrying out the general scheme, and so was removed largely, if not wholly, to get it out of the way of the others, to keep it from interfering with their progress.

These, then, are the two aspects of education — the repressive and the developing. It is the repressive side which has usually

been stressed. It is true that repression is necessary. In the course of growth and development the instincts have gradually to be brought under the control and direction of the higher consciousness, the ideals of the personality. This process of sublimation drafts the energy, which would otherwise be wastefully and injuriously expended, to the service of higher, more useful, and socially acceptable forms of conduct. In its repressive function educational methods must be called upon to supplement and reinforce these necessities. The general lines along which education should proceed in this particular are fairly well marked out for it by the spontaneously appearing repressions of the latency period. This period, following the frankly amoral, asocial period of infancy, is marked by the appearance of shame, disgust, bashfulness, conscientiousness, etc., the group of reactions which testify to the existence of repressions and seem to come about spontaneously in all children at about the same stage in development and therefore to be, so to speak, organically conditioned —

that is, inherent in the potentialities of the developing child and perhaps hereditarily conditioned rather than the results of the environmental influences to which the child has been subjected.

On the other hand, the development goal of education is its individualistic aspect. The stressing of repressions tends to form the child into the mold of the average, to conform it to the type of the group. The individualistic aspect of the problem necessarily takes into account the instinctive trends, the necessities for expression, for outlet, and seeks constructive avenues for these inner needs. In order to appreciate the several bearings of this individualistic aspect of the educational problem it will be necessary to discuss, at this point, certain aspects of repression — what it means, how it is brought about, and how it manifests itself in the later character tendencies.

Repression is the withholding of the application of interest, the turning aside from objects of desire, the creation of a barrier to progress in certain directions.

The infant learns through innumerable experiences that the passing of its excreta in public, before other people, is a tabooed type of conduct, that it is not countenanced by its elders. In response, therefore, to the expressed disapproval of those it loves it ceases to respond immediately to the demands of desire, as had been its habit, and by exercising control over the functions of its bladder and rectum puts off their emptying until it can be done in private and under conditions acceptable and countenanced by the group. The demands of desire are not yielded to when they first announce themselves, they are repressed until a favorable opportunity can be created for yielding to them. It is the same way with the other instincts, the instinct of hunger, of sexual expression, the desire to sleep or rest, and all the rest. The progress of the child to higher cultural levels in this respect is quite like that of man in general. Civilization, like education, depends in no small measure upon the ability to postpone the satisfaction of desires to appropriate times and places, a postponement which recedes

more and more as the cultural demands of the herd make themselves felt.

The normal, natural instincts, therefore in many of their immediate concrete demands, must of necessity be blocked, that is, repressed, as very part and parcel of the educational process, and as already indicated the energy thus sidetracked is made available for other (socially useful) ends.

It has already been said that much, at least, of this repression seems to come about in the natural course of growth and development irrespective of environmental influence. While this is true, in general, still we know that influences from without have much to do with the details of repression, they condition very largely the specific interest towards which it is directed and also they determine in no small degree its strength. For example, it not infrequently happens, especially in girls, that, as a result of an unfortunate sexual experience in childhood, the child was so shamed that the very thought of sex is unendurable because it always brings up by association the memory of that expe-

rience. Such girls may grow to adulthood with no knowledge that they have sexual desires like other people and in complete ignorance of all ordinary information on that subject. When they marry they are quite frigid and unresponsive to the marital embrace.

Usually repression is not so effective. It generally fails more or less because of the strength of the instinct behind it, which is seeking expression. A child, for instance, whose curiosity about sex matters had been rigorously disapproved and who had been severely punished for indulging it, might later in life become the village gossip, who was forever suggesting improper interpretations of the conduct of others and prying into their intimate affairs. The curiosity instinct was so strong in this instance that it broke through the bounds set by repression. The repression still worked, however. The break was only partial for the curiosity did not manifest itself frankly for just what it was but along pathways that subtly served its purpose without disclosing its aims. In this case

the repression had been brought about as a necessary reaction to authority and the breaking through of the repressed tendencies was an effort to overcome, to get the best of that authority in addition to the mere satisfaction of the curiosity. The result is undesirable and on the border at least of abnormality.

For the child whose curiosity instinct does not suffer under repression it constitutes one of the most valuable of its assets in later life. It is at the basis of all learning and investigation and becomes one of the greatest of incentives to the acquirement of knowledge. Thus it can be seen how important it is that the instincts should gain expression and how dangerous is unintelligent, unreasonable, and too often brutal repression of them.

All this gives rise to the question of how the instincts should be dealt with when they manifest themselves. Take this one of curiosity, for example, curiosity about things forbidden, about sexual things. This curiosity in general expresses itself in the question "Where do babies come from?"

This is the universal question of childhood and a great deal may depend upon how the situation which it creates is dealt with.

As a general thing the parent appealed to tries to sidetrack the inquiry, to evade a frank facing of the question, and in so doing assumes a patronizing air with the child and delivers the usual explanation, namely, that the stork or the doctor brings the babies. Now, such an attitude and such a response may have two very decided effects. In the first place the patronizing of the child is a particular case of a general and a very widespread error. The child needs to be taken seriously and its serious inquiries and efforts are entitled to that kind of consideration. To the child its problems are quite as serious as the adult's are to him, and because to the adult they may seem amusing is no good reason for dealing with them lightly. Such a way of handling the situation only humiliates the child and has the effect of turning it away from those who should be in a position of helpfulness and to whom it

would naturally turn for guidance. The intelligence and the powers of observation of the child are generally very greatly underestimated so that it is generally felt that a laugh and an evasion will settle a matter which the child could not understand anyway. As a matter of fact the child is not only unduly repressed and humiliated by such treatment, but it is always quite sufficiently intelligent to understand a reasonable and proper answer to any of its inquiries.

This last statement I know will be received with incredulity by many but what does the child's question mean, if not that information is sought? And if that is true, is it true that satisfying information is impossible to supply? Actual instances of dealing with the situation in this way have demonstrated that the questions can be answered and that too in a perfectly satisfying manner. To be sure some ingenuity may be required but it is not expected that important results should be attained without effort.

The fundamental principle to be borne

in mind in meeting all such inquiries is that the question alone should be considered and an attempt made to answer it by giving the information called for and no more. It would be a grievous mistake, for example, to attempt to answer the question "Where do babies come from?" by an elaborate description which would include the sexual act and be satisfying to the adult. Such an answer would obviously supply all sorts of material which the child would be unable to assimilate and about which it might entertain very undesirable ideas that might easily lead to very vicious results.

Given, then, the conclusion that the child's questions must be taken seriously and answered in that spirit, and the further conclusion that the answers must be responsive and satisfying, then follows the third requirement that they should be honest and truthful. The reply to the query "Where do babies come from?" by telling the child that the stork brings them is not only an evasion; it is much worse than that — it is dishonest because untruth-

ful. The evasion hurts the child's self-respect because it feels as though it were not being treated seriously and not being regarded as of much importance, and so tends to cause repressions which make it turn away from the parents as sources of information all too often to seek it in much less desirable quarters; for instance, among its playmates who, too frequently, already have distorted and unwholesome ideas about such things. The untruthfulness of the reply is not long in being discovered. Children come very early to doubt the validity of the stork story. The untruth, therefore, tends to lower the parents in the estimation of the child as sources of authority and thus deprives them of a great deal of influence they would otherwise be able to exercise over their children.

If when the child asks for information as to the source of babies the parent (usually the mother) replies simply and directly by telling it that "The baby grows in mother's body", the question has been accorded the seriousness it deserves, it has

been answered truthfully, and possibly the answer will satisfy, at least for some time until the information thus given has been assimilated and new questions arise. For instance, the little child does not understand from such an answer how the child gets into the mother's body. It has no idea originally why father as well as mother cannot have children, and may and probably will come back after a time with additional questions to clear up these doubts. When it does the same method should be pursued, a simple, direct, and truthful explanation which may use analogies to bring it within the child's range of observed phenomena. The father may be compared to the gardener who plants seed in the soil as he does in the mother. And so the curiosity of the child is satisfied, led safely along the path of development, saved from any improper repressions, and the relations between the parent and child are maintained on that basis of mutual confidence which keeps the parent in the position of maximum usefulness because of a retained respect which can be

used to the best advantage in directing the child along useful ways in its development.[1]

This example of the manner of dealing with curiosity will serve for the other instincts as well. As has already been said, repression is a necessary condition of cultural advancement. Every one has to bear a certain amount, yet with each there is a limit to the amount that can be borne. The instincts need as full as possible expression and in so far as that expression is impossible at culturally lower levels, the energy so repressed must be able to find its way out in sublimated forms of activity at culturally higher, socially acceptable levels.

Whether repression is successful or not depends upon two factors, the stimulus

[1] This example is not intended as a formula for use but only as an illustration of satisfying the curiosity and of frankness. This particular problem is an exceedingly difficult one and requires the greatest ingenuity for its successful solution. The details of handling will necessarily differ in every case. See concrete examples of dealing with it in Jung, C. G.: "Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology", Lecture III, and Von Hug-Hellmuth, "A Study of the Mental Life of the Child", *The Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. V.

that comes from without (by which I mean the total of the conditions which surround the individual and which often includes a cutting off of habitual avenues of expression) and the strength of the demand from within. Outside conditions may or may not be controllable; it is the inside conditions which furnish material for mental hygiene. Great strength of the need for expression is blocked and energy accumulates; this occurs, not only from lack of opportunity but also as a result of repression. Both the increased demand from within and the repression are due to what is termed fixation. A few words to explain what is meant by this term.

In the course of development the child, as already described, passes through many stages. These various stages, among other things, are characterized by types of pleasure-seeking activities. For example, if in childhood great pleasure had been experienced in odors it might later in life become a dealer in perfumes; one who had been much interested in sounds, as children often are, might become a musician.

A child who had suffered a great injustice might consecrate his life to correcting injustices and become a jurist, just as one who had suffered much from illness might decide upon the career of a physician. Only children, who have always had their own way, desire to become commanding personalities; those children who have loved to "show off" may later become actors. It is important to note that in later life when expression is in any way blocked, when the individual comes "up against a stone wall", is threatened by failure, he reverts to some form of expression (pleasure-seeking) which had proved satisfying when a child but which he should have left permanently behind in the course of development. Thus he may revert to overeating, eating of sweets, exhibitions of cruelty (getting even with others) by projecting his own shortcomings upon others. Thus forms of satisfaction (cruelty, curiosity in regard to forbidden things) which had been repressed become reanimated to serve as means of expression when the higher pathways are

blocked.[1] Such manifestations are well recognized and common in the neuroses. It can be seen, by these examples, how important the influences which surround the child may become for later life.

In order that the various pleasure-seeking activities of the child should, in the course of development, gradually fall into their rightful relations and not be overemphasized, it is important that they should be given their normal expression at the time of their outcrop and not be unduly repressed and thereby given a disproportionate importance. The curiosity which has been used as an example does so fall into its proper alignment when met in the frank, open way suggested. It is only when it is denied that it comes to have an undue significance which thus becomes fraught with evil possibilities.

One of the most important considerations in bringing this desired end about is connected with the administration of

[1] The influence of the instincts and their repression on the choice of a vocation is an important chapter in psychology. See Brill, A. A., "The Psychopathology of Selections of Occupations", *The Medical Record*, New York, February 23, 1918.

punishments. If the child who asked about where babies came from was punished for showing such a perfectly normal curiosity, it not only would withdraw from the parents and tend to build up a barrier of repression but it would withdraw with a sense of injustice and with feelings of resentment. This resentment would then spread to relations with the parent other than just those with respect to the specific question. Thus there would tend to grow up an attitude of antagonism which might easily become more and more pronounced, and which would ultimately find expression in all those relations in which the child and the parent come into conflict. Punishment, therefore, especially if it is felt to be unjust, tends to bring about all those reactions of obstinacy, resistance, and antagonism which interfere with the relations of parent and child and impair the influence of the former.

The real object of punishment should be to build up barriers to certain forms of conduct which are not calculated to be advantageous in the long run, in general, to

conduct which tends to be destructive, to be socially inacceptable and disintegrating. Punishment, however, as a matter of fact, is too often a reaction of anger against such conduct, and therefore instead of having simply a retarding or prohibitive effect tends to raise feelings of resentment which operate often to continue the same or similar conduct in a spirit of revenge.

Education and punishment are here brought together as offering examples of common errors of procedure and presenting dangerous potentialities. Education by attempting to force the child into a form which suits the ideals of the teacher as to just what a child ought to be, tends to destroy all that splendid spontaneity of expression which comes from pursuing a course which gives adequate expression to the fundamental instinctive needs and makes therefore the fullest development of the personality impossible. Punishment becomes a tool to enforce compliance and still further to cripple the personality in all its attempts at expression in so far as they do not fit in with the preconceived

ideals of the teacher, or, what amounts to the same thing, of the scheme which has been formulated.

Such artificial pressing of the child in molds to suit other people has the effect of sidetracking the personality, directing it along paths not suited to the pattern of its instinctive needs, offering it as an objective a fictitious goal. Thus the child who has been severely and unjustly punished by a brutal father may spend its life in hating and antagonizing all authority and so lose the capacity for a judicial choice of activities which shall see the various possibilities in their proper perspective as related to its real needs. We shall see in the next chapter how these fictitious goals acquire their power to control conduct because they offer the greatest of all pleasure premiums, the sexual. The fictitious goal because it is sexually attractive has the power to dominate conduct.

Chapter VIII

Further Problems

SEXUALITY — REPRESSION — PLAY

NO one characteristic of cultural progress is so marked or so important as the repression under which the sexual instinct has fallen in the course of development. And, too, as a result of that repression, no aspect of the personality has suffered such manifold distortions and disfigurements. This has already been intimated in the previous chapters and it has been suggested that this was due, in part at least, to the fact that the sexual drive was so powerful that it tended to accumulate the total energies of the individual and therefore, in order to progress along the path of evolutionary development, it became necessary to divert portions of the great creative energy from

immediate sexual aims to sublimated forms of activity, which, while they derived their original and fundamental powers from sex were yet socially useful forms of conduct. In order to see this more clearly it will be necessary to take up somewhat more in detail some problems, particularly those that grow out of the intimate relations between the child and its parents.

The thing that people are loath to see and to acknowledge is that the infant of two, three, and four years of age has sexual feelings. They do not believe it is so, because they do not want to believe it; and, too, because their own memory does not verify such an assumption. But, then, the memory of the whole period of infancy is practically nil, only here and there some event standing out. This very fact, the absence of memory, goes to prove that there is much that it is wished to forget, in other words that is repressed, and we know such repressed material is predominantly sexual. Then, too, an unbiased observation of little children cannot escape the conclusion that they have sexual desire, for

it is expressed over and over again in their conduct and in what they say.

A further aspect of those early years is equally or even more repugnant to the average person, yet it follows logically from it. That is, that the child's love of its parents contains a prominent libidinous component. If a child is a sexual being it might be expected that its love for others would contain a sexual element, and if those others are the parents (in the first years they are to all intents and purposes the only others in the infant's environment) then it is to be expected and it follows of necessity that the love will be sexually conditioned. That this is so is indicated by the more or less obvious fact that the child is attracted more strongly toward the parent of the opposite sex — the little boy toward the mother, the little girl toward the father. The supremacy of sex makes itself felt thus early in life.

There are many reasons why, in the progress of cultural development, this bond of sexual attraction between son and mother, daughter and father needs to be

dissolved. About this question revolves the whole important problem of incest, which in many of its ramifications is so little understood. This, however, is not the place to discuss such complex biological and anthropological questions. Suffice it to say that the horror of incest seems to be ingrained in man with the strength of an instinct and nothing is more characteristic of primitive man, the savage, than the elaborate precautions he takes, by the organization of his society, to guard against incest. This horror of incest is a most effectual barrier to that continuance of the child's dependence upon its parents which is so inimical to its future development and so becomes one of the most effectual means of dissolving it. It is, too, largely because of this instinctive horror that the early years of infancy are so completely forgotten, for they contain this character of longing which to the adult mind would seem incestuous and horrible. Love, however, must travel a path of gradual unfoldment and in order that we should ultimately be able to love a person of the

opposite sex and not of our immediate family, with whom we can join interests to the end of race-preservation, it is necessary to pass the intermediary stages of love for persons of the same sex and for persons of our immediate family. Perhaps these forms of love are never wholly given up. So to insure that we do not revert to them, a barrier of horror is erected against homosexuality and against incest.

Viewed with these facts in mind the relations of child and parent gain tremendously in importance. The possibilities for good or for evil become greatly magnified. I shall endeavor to point out some of the possibilities, for I believe it to be of the first importance that they should have a wider recognition.

In the first place, if this child-parent relation is of such value it is certainly worth preserving and should not idly be handed over to a substitute in the person of a nurse, whose real interest can hardly ever be such as to be comparable to that of the mother. Only too often, unfortunately, nurses either through ignorance or down-

right viciousness influence the child in ways (definitely sexual) which are directly harmful. Ill-advised admiration of the child's naked body, a too great attention to the genital zone in performing the ordinary toilet duties, or the nurses' exposure of their own bodies on the theory that the child does not comprehend, tend to fixations of sexual interest which later come under the ban of repression and subsequent distortions that are of distinctly crippling influence on the developing personality. Of course the mother herself may be guilty in precisely the same way though not usually to the extent and certainly not intentionally. The child's interest in its own body, while a perfectly natural interest, should ultimately sink into its proper place of secondary importance but if emphasized in the ways indicated may result in either developing an exquisite who lavishes all sorts of unnecessary care upon personal decoration, fine clothes, and the like to the exclusion of more important things; or else may result in a general reaction towards the body (nakedness, and

the various bodily functions) of abhorrence and the feeling that all such things are nasty. Either extreme makes for distorted types of personality rather than that freedom towards all such matters which mark the individual without fixations and distorting repressions. We constantly see the mischief that such persons do in the community. Social reform attracts many persons who only seek activity for libidinous tendencies rather than the rendering of service. Many anti-vivisectionists, for example, undoubtedly belong to that group of sadists who delight in cruelty, as shown plainly by their suspicion that every one who does vivisection is really cruel and only indulging themselves in that instinct. They see themselves in others and then, instead of being able to correct their own tendencies, fight those tendencies which they have thus projected and so relieve themselves from a consciousness of their own shortcomings.

The human body as such and its various functions should never be degraded in the mind of the child. Much of the distortion

of sexuality is on the basis of its alleged nastiness. This feeling about it is conditioned largely by its inclusion with the excretory functions in the common realm of the forbidden. Parents are to no small extent responsible for this by applying the term "nasty" to both indiscriminately. What is needed in order that every child should come into its birthright is not the degradation of sexuality with the consequent repressions and deformations of personality. If err one must, it would be better to exalt it. But what is really needed is the capacity to deal with sex in all its nuances with a judicial attitude of mind and without emotional disturbance. Sexuality needs to be dignified, to be considered with the same regard as any other bodily and mental functions, and only when so considered will it be possible to approach its problems in that spirit of emotional calm which will enable us to see it in its proper perspective. Only then will sexuality really come to be at the service of the race, only then will sexuality as an instinct come under the control of intelli-

gence. Freedom means the capacity to press our instincts into service, slavery is the domination of instinct.

The inclusion of sexuality in the general prohibition as "nasty" is not by any means the only way in which the parent directs the child's thinking into wrong channels. The child is equally led astray by the false ideals of the parents. Parents, in response to a feeling of helplessness and terror in the face of the sexual problem, try only too often to eliminate sex entirely from the lives of their children — as if that were possible! This effort errs in the well recognized way of driving the children away from the parents in the search for enlightenment and of course usually in less desirable directions — playmates whose information is usually erroneous at least and servants who not infrequently take the opportunity to impart knowledge which only stimulates the child's curiosity further in vicious directions. But the parents, in response to their anxiety, or for other reasons (because they themselves suffer from serious repressions), hold up an

ideal of sexlessness which may be almost as harmful as the other extreme. Prudery and sentimentalism are certainly not desirable standards. Besides, the child so severely repressed is apt, if it does break loose, to plunge into a riot of self-indulgence. Not infrequently, too, such children are hampered in their development to such an extent as to be homosexual or manifest other equally undesirable traits in their sex life.[1]

Sexuality needs to be recognized if for no other reason than because it *is* and it cannot be dealt with by refusing to see it. The child also needs to be recognized, for the same reason, as possessing a sexual instinct and that instinct needs due consideration in the process of its growth and development. That consideration involves an understanding of the demands for recognition (curiosity, etc.) which the instinct makes upon the child, and an appreciation of the necessity for meeting those demands in the best way for the future of the child's personality. This involves a dignification of sex to the same level of importance as other functions of the individual,

bodily or mental, with the object of attaining to that emotionally calm consideration of sex problems which will insure the bringing of the sex instinct into line to serve the individual and the race under the direction of the conscious ideals guided by the intelligence.

This emphasis on sex is warranted because back of all our activities, our aspirations, our ideals, it lies as the great motive force, stronger than any other, even stronger than the instinct for self-preservation. Individual life is always sacrificed for the young or for the group. A mother will die to save her child; the soldier dies for his country. This must of necessity be so, for if any instinct were stronger the race would perish. Therefore it may be truly said that our fate is the fate of our sexuality.[1] It offers the greatest pleasure-premium and therefore controls. In thinking therefore of the child it is essential to bear its sexuality constantly in mind and not

[1] Of course using the term "sexuality" in its broad significance, as including the race-preservative instinct in all its manifestations from the most concrete, to which the term "sexual" is usually applied, to the most highly sublimated forms.

eliminate it from consideration as is more usually done. In most accounts of the child hardly a word is said about it, but that is because of the resistances of the recorders who are blind to its manifestations and importance because of their own repressions. The development of the child, then, is intimately bound up in its love life, in fact is the expression of the changes in its love interests. These love interests, at first confined to its own body, shortly begin to be attached to things outside itself and, as already stated, its future psychological history might be written in terms of the objects of those attachments.

Among the earliest of the child's activities are those expressed in play. Play is of the greatest importance in the plan of development; it is the preparation for real life. In play the child, so to speak, tries out all of its budding powers and possibilities. All of its characteristics, its interests, its aspirations and criticisms, its loves and hates, all of its theories about persons and things, all are projected in its play either upon persons, or earlier upon toys and

animals and upon all manner of inanimate objects, which for the purpose are personified in order to receive these qualities. For example, the dolls are given definite personalities and names which coincide with certain attributes of the child and of those about it as it sees them. In the person of a soldier doll, a general, the male child lives out its heroic aspirations, dispensing honors to those it loves and conquering and destroying those it hates. The little girl sees in a doll her own aspirations for motherhood and lives through a whole phantastically created family situation with children and all the rest of it. In this way the child dominates its self-created environment, wresting what it wants from the world, securing the love of many friends and overcoming enemies. In all of the infinite details of this play the basic characteristics of the developing personality can be seen manifesting themselves, feeling their way into reality where later in life they will be pressed into service as instruments of adult methods of adaptation.

This is the formative period of life.

This is the period when influences for good or evil found themselves at the very basis of the personality, when the child is feeling itself into reality with all the means at hand, and therefore the golden period for educational influences. The instinctive tendencies are pushing their way tentatively, through the artifices of play, into reality, there to find their fulfillment and to effect the development of the personality to which they belong. If the process proceeds smoothly well and good; but if, at this point or that, there is too long a tarrying at some source of erotic interest, then that portion of the personality remains relatively infantile in its pleasure-seeking activities. Such an infantile area, making its demands upon the adult, leads to repressions with subsequent distortions and resulting deformations of the personality. For example, a boy who has become, for any reason, too much accustomed to being petted by the mother and therefore has acquired a mother fixation, which in these respects is relatively infantile in character, comes later in life to seek similar sources

of satisfaction and may marry a woman because of her resemblance to his mother, and then expect from her, not the grown-up relations of a wife, but the sort of affection he had been accustomed to get from his mother. In this way a disharmony may arise that may well seriously cripple and impair his whole married life.

The attributes of the child, the nature of its instinctive longings, can be seen in its play, in the character of its relation to other children, the nature of its tastes for food, games, music, love of toys, of animals, its desire to be alone or capacity for forming satisfactory companionships, and its sensitiveness to criticism, ways of reacting to success as well as disappointments, its necessity for praise, its initiative and aggressiveness or tendency toward sulkiness and depression and in a thousand and one other ways. It testifies to the nature of its needs in everything it says and does, in the jokes it makes, the new words it coins, the choice of playmates, its love-objects and its objects of hate, its desire to give pleasure or to inflict pain.

Following the earliest stages of development, the period when the child is primarily interested in its own body in a sensational way, the period of auto-erotism, comes the stage which I have already referred to as Narcissism. The child is on the way to the development of capacity for a love-object, the stage of object-love, but passes through this intermediary period in which it is not quite yet capable of object-love nor yet able to give up its interest in its own body. In this Narcissistic stage the child, on its way to seek a love-object, takes first itself as object and, so to speak, falls in love with itself. This love of self is never again quite given up, but just as the child had to learn by bitter experience that its father was not the greatest and most powerful of all men, nor its mother the sweetest and most beautiful of all women, it comes to learn through the criticisms and fault-finding of its elders and the successes of other children that it, too, is not the incomparable person in full control of its environment, commanding all love, that it had liked to think itself. When

this realization comes with regard to the parents, I have indicated how the child attempts to restore the golden past, when its parents were beyond compare, by its dreams and phantasies of descent from royal parents. In like manner, when the realization of being subject to the ordinary human limitations, weaknesses, and defects is borne in upon it, it acts in a similar manner. The libido (creative energy) which has now no longer a satisfactory occupation in feelings of power and perfection goes to building up ideals of what it would want to be and thus the child begins to build up an ideal personality which it trys to reach to compensate itself for the loss of perfection.

This creation of an ideal (ego-ideal) from the unsatisfied portions of its libido is conditioned, in the nature of that ideal, by the character of the criticisms to which it has been subjected, especially, of course, by the parents. Whatever, therefore, the parents have stood for to the child may become the object of its ideals. The outer voice of the parent (more especially the

father) becomes incorporated into the ideals of the child and as an inner critique, an inner voice conveying praise or blame as may be, it becomes our conscience, with which as adults we ever after have to reckon. Or mayhap, transferred to heaven, it is again the voice of the father, now as God, as in the olden days when the father really was that to the child mind. The nature of this inner critique, the character of the "wee small voice of conscience" with which we have to deal, determines the nature and the extent of future repressions, and as it was originally the external voice of authority it can be seen how important it is that that voice should speak truly as well as with conviction.[1]

The attitude of the parents is thus of supreme importance in molding the child's personality. I have already indicated the ways in which damage could be done with respect to the child's curiosity. How

[1] Of course the voice of authority in the family is not always the father's — it may be the mother's. In any case, however, it is the masculine component of the individual that speaks with authority. Authority is therefore essentially masculine in its nature, no matter in which parent it originates.

necessary it is to treat this aspect of the growth of the child's interests with respect and with an effort to satisfy it. Parents not only treat the child in a patronizing way but they often actually make fun of its childish mistakes. This is a great mistake and happens probably because the adult no longer remembers his childhood and therefore has no appreciation in his own feelings of what such treatment means. This absolute lack of memory for the early years is a most important factor in the inability of the adult to understand childhood's viewpoints and is a failure, therefore, to deal with the child as child. Ridicule, therefore, which might be all right with an adult and actually accomplish a corrective purpose, with the child may only bring about or emphasize a feeling of inferiority and perhaps permanently interfere with the power of spontaneous expression and create a feeling of sensitiveness which continues as a source of unhappiness throughout later life. The opposite attitude may be equally harmful. Parents may well be overambitious for their chil-

dren, wanting and expecting them to accomplish great things. Such expressed and implied expectations, on the part of the loved and respected parents, may operate to spur the child to endeavors beyond its powers, with resulting failure. Such a failure may easily be an important factor in conditioning a serious breakdown, and emphasizes the importance of following along in an effort to help the personality unfold rather than attempting to force it in any particular direction.

The problems of the care, bringing up, education, mental hygiene of the child are problems in wisely assisting nature by removing or preventing obstacles to the unfolding of the personality. In order to do this most wisely the child needs to be understood in its budding possibilities and attempts at finding expression and the path made as free as possible. No human being can safely be forced in a predetermined direction or into a preformed mold. The personality must be left free to develop to its full powers along the lines of its natural growth. The intelligent parent

can accomplish much by understanding the child and therefore being in a better position to help. Such help comes more by assisting the process of unfolding rather than by forcing adherence to preconceived ideals. The personality can be aided in its development by adhering to the general plan which it early sketches for itself when it begins to discover its own limitations and, at the end of the period of infancy and the beginning of the latency period, begins to build up those first inhibitions and repressions which are later to be controlling factors in its fate.

Chapter IX

The Function of the Parents

THE importance of the parents has already been repeatedly referred to and insisted upon. They are the first recipients of the love-interest and therefore tend ever after to serve as models for that interest. Not only are they the first objects of love, but because they represent a love attachment from which the child must ultimately break away in order to acquire its independence, they are the first objects to incite its antagonism, they are the first objects of its hate. The relation of the parent to the child is ambivalent. We see in it again an illustration of the parallel path of opposites. The parents then are the first to attract the outgoing energies — interest, libido, love, hate — of the child, they are the objects toward which its first attempts to find an object of interest outside its own body are directed,

and therefore they, more than any one or anything else at any time in the life of the child, are of importance as giving it its first forms of expression. If our fate is the fate of our love life, then it is in these early days when we first learn to love that our fate is decided. Ever afterward we are conditioned by these first experiences, for no matter in what direction or how far we may go along the path of development, the goal we attain must be determined by the way we started out — whether we started straight forward, or deviated in this or that direction, little or much. To be sure there may be little about our developed, adult personalities to suggest whence they came, but theoretically, at least, it should be possible to reconstruct the several stages. All this will make still better understandable what I have already stated, namely, that much heretofore credited to heredity is really dependent upon these early influences. A child may grow like its parents for more reasons than because it is of the same germ plasm. It may grow like them because, through love and admiration, it

strives with every fiber of its being to be as much like them as it is possible to be.

This extremely sensitized parent-child relation is peculiarly susceptible to aberrations and distortions because of overemphasis or underemphasis addressed to some particular aspect of it, and the art of parenthood therefore becomes one of the most difficult arts to practice successfully.

One of the most frequent of the many possible aberrations of the relation is produced by an attraction between parent and child which is too close, too long continued, and results in impairing the ability of the child to finally break with home dependency and become independent. The typical setting for such an outcome is produced when there has been but one child — a boy — and the mother has early been widowed either by the death of the husband or by separation or, what amounts to the same thing, there is an absence of love between the parents. Under these circumstances the mother turns to her son as a love-object and lavishes upon him not only the love which under ordinary circum-

stances would go out to him, but because another avenue of her love expression towards the husband has been closed, lavishes this additional quantum of love also upon her son. In this way the child gets too much love and, too, love which is not just a mother's love, but in addition a love which should have had an adult form of expression, namely, a sexual expression, as that is the kind of expression of which she has been deprived. Mother and son under these circumstances grow up more like sweethearts than like parent and child, and the quality of the mother's love offers such a pleasure-premium to the child that it is unable to detach itself from the mother as love-object and find a wife and independence.

Such "mother's boys" are well known. They are wonderfully attentive to and appreciative of their mother, but remain in the household, never marrying. They are of gentle disposition and, from having been too much loved, are ill-adapted to withstand the hard knocks of reality. They are therefore thin-skinned and sensitive to a degree and under severe stress may develop

a psychosis. A mental upset may happen, too, when the mother dies because the love is not capable of detaching itself from her and becoming attached to another love-object. Or, on the other hand, the mother's death may free the child. Some of these mother's boys, it is worth noting, never are able freely to accept this domination of the mother love and their ordinarily affectionate conduct towards her may be interrupted by storms of reproach and violence, as if in a violent attempt to separate themselves from what they feel to be a restricting and paralyzing influence. A similar picture might be drawn of the relation of father and daughter.

This sort of relationship, too, does not need always to come about as a result of exactly the conditions described, but may result when the parent and child are brought into such relations from other causes. For example, an only child may be the occasion of such a crippling love, or if not an only child, then a favorite child,[1]

[1] Or a child who, because of illness, has had an excessive amount of love lavished upon it.

especially if the parents are not harmoniously related, for it should be borne in mind that a great number of our neurotics, if not most of them, come from unhappy homes. The discord in the home has been absorbed by the child and later expresses itself in difficulties and failures of adjustment. Unhappiness thus propagates itself from generation to generation by more obvious means than by heredity.

This fixation upon the mother has still further implications probably beyond that of a similar fixation upon the father. The mother not only represents love to the boy but love in general to the children of both sexes, and not only love but what is quite as important, protection. One has seen chickens run to get under the old mother hen's wings on the approach of a hawk. I am not aware that young chickens act any differently in this respect because of their sex. It is the same with young children. When trouble is in sight they seek the mother. The mother, therefore, comes to symbolize all of those protective features of the family and home. She becomes the

goal on the regressive pathway. We originally came from the mother, now upon the approach of danger we turn and go back to her. Much more than the father, then, she represents all those attachments of love and dependence with which the child, if it is to be successful, must break.

Standing, therefore, as the goal in the regressive pathway, fixation upon the mother not only may mean a crippling dependence and an absence of ability to make good as an independent individual, but it symbolizes lack of character development in general. The strength of the fixation upon the mother thus becomes a measure of the degree of defect in character development. Complete dependence is equivalent to failure and uselessness, lesser degrees correspond to less obvious and less severe defects.[1]

[1] In the severe psychoses a complete regression to the mother is seen in those patients who sit with flexed limbs and arms, head and body bent forward with the chin resting on the breast, who are usually mute, seek dark corners, and are often inattentive to the calls of nature. They thus reproduce as nearly as possible that condition before birth when they still occupied a position within their mother's uterus and were thus quite completely protected from the invasions of the world of reality.

On the opposite side of the ledger, so to speak, hate and antagonism to authority are exemplified perhaps most typically by the conflict between the boy and his father. While there is always more or less of such antagonism — pretty completely veiled and unconscious or well out in the open as the case may be — it may, in the presence of certain conditions, be very much emphasized. If the father, for example, is an unusually unjust, severe and cruel parent, and if, too, he is especially cruel in his attitude towards the child's love-object, his mother, there may be an exaggerated reaction of hate which may determine a character trend which will ever afterwards be arrayed against all authority whether embodied in some individual, or, more abstractly, in the law and the functions of the State generally. This is of course a serious handicap, which makes for those reactions of antagonism that interfere with the ease of bringing about social contacts and the making of friends, and which build up an overwhelming egotism based on feelings of superiority and thus tend to isolate

the individual, in all his affective adjustments and aspirations, from the other members of the herd, and so interfere with that degree of coöperation upon which the effective organization of society is based. All this, to say nothing of those extreme reactions which lead to actual destruction and antisocial conduct calculated to tear down the very structure of society (certain anarchists and regicides, and also certain varieties of severe psychotic manifestations) may flow from such beginnings. Unfortunately the death of the father or separation from him may not materially affect the character trait which was laid down early and became a deeply founded element of the personality makeup.

As opposed to these love and hate reactions are their apparent opposites. The little boy, for example, emulates his father and aspires, when he grows up, to be like him in every way. So far as the father is worthy of emulation and sets a good example, and is worthy of being made such an ideal, well and good. Even here, however, we have not fathomed the whole situ-

ation if we rest with assuming the validity of the obvious. There are drawbacks even to such an apparently ideal situation.

In the first place it is hardly to be expected that the object of emulating the father would be a wholly unselfish one, especially at this time of life. One of its deepest roots has as its object the complete possession of the mother's love and therefore it is a jealousy motive. By emulating the father the boy identifies himself with him in his feelings and thus takes his place, in particular with relation to the mother — the little boy's love-object. In this way the real object of the child is, by identifying himself with the father, to thus, indirectly, as it were, eliminate him from competition for the mother's love. It is not unusual for boys to say that when father dies they will marry mother. This is a way of bringing the desired end to pass without having to wait for the actual death of the parent. It is brought about by a trick of thinking. It is the phantasy method of making things happen by thinking them so, and comes over from the period

of infancy when to the little infant things actually seemed to happen in this magic way.

In the second place, this tendency to emulate the father is based upon a too complete domination of the child by the father. In the conflict between father and son, the son has succumbed to the more masterful father, who thus dominates him to such an extent that it may ever after be impossible for him to come into his own by an independent assertion of his own individuality. The conflict between parents and children is of use to this end, and a too complete victory of the parent is as unfortunate as the opposite, namely, incapacity on the part of the parent to control and direct the child.

Parallel reactions are seen in the girl child, although perhaps identification with the mother is more frequent than the corresponding phenomenon in the boy because of the relatively more passive attitude of the female, just as open rebellion is more common in the boy because of the more dominating character of the male

libido. It is extraordinary the extent to which such identification may go. It sometimes happens that this identification is quite complete for all the more important events in life. The marriage may be to the same sort of man (of course the father attachment is an additional motive here), the married life meets the same obstacles, and may go to pieces for the same reasons. Even the illnesses of the mother may be reproduced at about the same period of life and as a result of the same causes. All such phenomena are usually explained on the theory of heredity. I have indicated how they may be otherwise accounted for.

If all this seems extraordinary and perhaps hardly possible it may help to recall how frequently the religion and the politics of the son are the same as the father's. If the son were asked why he holds the views he does on these two subjects his replies would be less convincing in proportion to his youth. Later in life he acquires a host of arguments for bolstering up his position but as a youth he would

hardly be able to convince any one that he had any better reason than that his father was thus and so, and that, after all, would be the real explanation. Parents in this way pass on to their children their own traits copied in turn from their parents. Children are brought up and educated in the way that has become familiar by personal experience and so a theory of education is carried out by the father because he had learned it from his father. Thus are dogmas, traits, habits of thought handed on from generation to generation. Some are good, some are bad, many are good at one time and bad at another, and in any event it all makes for that conservation of the structure of society which is such an important element in its stabilization.

The function of the parents in all this can be seen to require great nicety of judgment in steering themselves and the child between two extremes, either one of which may easily spell disaster. Too great affection may lead to a crippling fixation and dependence; too little, or an attitude of open hostility, may lead to an antagonism

which drives the child away from the parents, anywhere, so long as it is away from parental control; and because the energies are devoted blindly to getting away from somewhere rather than in going anywhere in particular, there is not that vision which protects from disaster. Is there any guiding principle that will point the way in this maze of difficulties?

In all the situations thus far sketched which lead to greater or lesser degrees of maladjustment some aspect of the situation has appeared to be overloaded with emotion — love or hate. For example, in the love of the widowed mother for an only son it would seem that too much love on the mother's part was what caused the retardation in the child's development. This implication has perhaps already impressed the reader unfavorably because it is difficult to conceive how there can be too much love, which is after all only another name for the great creative force. We must again look a little deeper into the situation. It may be that the child suffers from too much love but the too much

love is love of a certain sort, as I have already indicated. Such a love exacts a return from the child which overemphasizes the relation to the mother, produces a fixation of its love upon her, and interferes with its development by standing in the way of that continuous choosing of different love-objects which will ultimately lead to the choice of a satisfactory partner and so free it from its infantile attachments. How is this to be corrected?

The difficulty here is that the love of the mother for her child has added to the parental nature of that love another element. There cannot be too much love of the right sort, but the right sort of love in this relation is parental love. It is imperative from the standpoint of the welfare of the child that the love expended by the parents should be of the nature of parental love and that the child should not be called upon to minister to the selfish needs of the parent. The use of the child by the parents for selfish purposes, as we shall see more fully in the next chapter, is one of the important sources of impairing the

child in its future possibilities. The example given is an instance in point.

The aims, objects, and tendencies of adults and children fundamentally differ. These differences give rise to the natural antagonism that maintains between them. The adult has lived through and beyond the period of childhood, and its activities as such are no longer of interest. The only reason they become of interest is because they are the activities of our children and as such have peculiar and personal bearings. What is the mechanism of this peculiar interest which is conditioned by the fact that the children are the children of the parents rather than children in general? That their activities are activities of their children rather than just childhood activities?

The love between parent and child has been glorified in literature but its opposite, the antagonism that maintains between them, seldom gets expression and yet this is no less real and no less important.[1]

[1] Read in this connection Bernard Shaw's "Treatise on Parents and Children", written as a preface to his play "Misalliance."

How does the natural antagonism between adult and child come to be nullified when the adult and child stand in the relation of parent and child? By a mechanism that is familiar to us all in its general aspects and is as important for the one as for the other. Youth remains always as a goal, something to be desired. With the passing of youth there only too often goes the passing of opportunities and aspirations which become more and more difficult to lay aside as we grow older, in proportion to our failure to attain the ends in life which we have sought. Youth thus remains as a bit of that golden past when all things were possible which we would fain recall, particularly in the face of failure. There thus remains with all a natural sympathy with youth, albeit embittered, as it may be, by a life of failure. That element within us, therefore, which would still be youthful, which would still have the potency of younger years to fight the battles of life is projected upon the youth about us, and when that youth is represented by our own children it becomes a possibility of living

our lives over again through them, often of overcoming in this way, by a renewed life, the obstacles which had conquered us in our childhood. Thus does the parent wish to have his child succeed where he failed, to make his child's path to success surer than had been his own. An added mechanism to this same end is conditioned by the fact that, owing to the workings of heredity which produces children like the parents, the father sees a replica of himself in his son, the mother a replica of herself in her daughter, and thus both parents are appealed to on the side of their ego-ideal (the remnants of their Narcissism), while the father sees in the daughter the replica of his wife as she was as a girl (his love-object) and similarly the mother sees in the son the coming to life again of her husband's youth. And so do we literally live our lives over again in our children, renew our youth, and by so doing satisfy our ideals for ourselves, our aspirations as reflected in our love-objects, and our efforts to attain immortality by warding off old age and regaining our youth.

Such are the mechanisms of the love interests between parent and child which for the child produce those necessary qualities of parental love to protect and guide it during its period of helplessness, dependency, and development, and for the parents enable them to renew their youth and continue in later life those live interests without which life would lose its savor. Happy indeed is the child whose parents have lived well rounded lives in which they have brought to pass the full fruition of the possibilities of their personalities and thus surrounded the early years of their children with an atmosphere charged with the stimulus of success and not one that reflects the bitterness of failure. In such a medium the child can really blossom out into a fully formed, efficient being, not the deformed and stunted character which we see in the types of profound character defects.

Chapter X

Historical Background

AN account of the status of the child among the various races of mankind, civilized as well as primitive, and of the way in which it has been treated, is one of the saddest pages of history. And, too, it is especially disappointing in that in the very places and among the very peoples whom we would expect to find, at least, that the simplest and most obvious rights of the child as we know them would be respected, even the right to live, we find on the contrary the child treated with the greatest cruelty. An examination of the evidence shows clearly that parental affection, love, regard, and consideration for children as we know them are by no means qualities with which all human beings are born, but, like all other human attributes, they have attained their

present state by a process of evolution and that they are in process of still further development.

To understand the cruelty with which children through the ages and by all peoples have been treated, the essential fact to realize is that the child was felt to be the property of the parent and therefore could properly be disposed of as other property, and in any way that would benefit the parent. I will mention only the more important points in the development of our present attitude towards the child.

Among savages, for example, children are often deliberately murdered for one reason or another. In many cases, especially under conditions of economic stress, scarcity of food or famine, or as a religious rite, children are killed and eaten. The Papuans of New Guinea kill and eat children, while among certain of the Australian tribes it was the custom for a mother to kill and eat her first-born on the theory that it strengthened her for later births. Among the Marquesans, who inhabit a group of islands to the southeast of

Hawaii, children are killed and eaten by the parents in periods of great food scarcity. Children were killed and eaten in Japan during the great famine in 1783.

The killing and eating of children was often a part of a religious rite. Thus the early Israelites sacrificed their first-born and the child thus sacrificed to the God was eaten. In India it was the custom until recently to sacrifice the first-born to the Ganges — while children were freely killed as a result of economic stress. Primitive man easily adopted the excuse of a religious rite to get rid of undesired children, and the existence of such reasons for sacrifice indicates that even so early it had to be a strong motive that would overcome the parental instinct, relatively weak as that instinct then was. Among the strongest of the motives for infanticide were the economic, the difficulty of procuring sufficient food. In the process of keeping the population of the tribe within the limits prescribed by the necessities (scarcity of food) it was natural that those children that promised the greatest usefulness to

the tribe should be preserved and the others sacrificed. So, in addition to laws regulating the number of children that may be reared, the children that are malformed in any way are killed. Among warlike races it would be expected that the males would be of greatest value to the tribe, so Romulus pledged the people to bring up all males, except those that were lame or monstrous from birth.

The sacrifice of children which grew out of economic necessity, lack of food, is understandable as means of self-preservation. The later limitation of the number of children in a family and the sacrifice of the deformed grow from the same source, though somewhat further removed. Such sacrifices constitute a sort of primitive eugenics. Later on the sacrifice of female children in warlike tribes is a still further adaptation of means to end, the use of sacrifice in a very definite way to further the avowed ends of the tribe. Still later in the history of sacrifice we find all sorts of substitutes for the human victim, particularly animal, which, among other

things, permitted the parental instinct to more fully assert itself and develop.

That infanticide was dependent largely upon feeble parental — more particularly paternal — instinct, which considered the child as an unwelcome burden is shown, not only by its more recent history, but by certain aspects of its early manifestations. The transparency of the excuse for yielding to the promptings of convenience seems to be obvious in such circumstances as killing a child born with teeth (Africa); born in stormy weather (Kamchatka); born on unlucky days (Madagascar). Among the Basute a child born feet first is killed; among the Bondei it is killed if born head first.

Throughout the ages infanticide has been terribly prevalent. Of course the reasons as already indicated have been many, religious, for example, but they were at bottom largely selfish. It has been estimated that among the Dieijerie, a tribe of Australia, thirty per cent of children were killed by their mothers, for various reasons, at their birth. In China infanticide has

always been prevalent. Female children were often killed to avoid the necessity of later giving expensive wedding presents when they were married. In India infanticide was practiced on a large scale, it being the female child that was most apt to suffer, as the female child was held in little regard relatively. In parts of New South Wales, it was the female child that was killed if the reason was only to do away with a drain on the resources of the parent, while, if the reason were a religious one, the male child was chosen. The little value put on the child's life is well attested by the Salic law of the Franks, which provided that the killing of a child should be punished by a fine, the fine being regulated by the sex and the age of the child. For example, to kill a free girl before the age of twelve the fine was 200 sous, after the age of twelve 600 sous.

The practice of infanticide is closely bound up with that of the selling of children for similar reasons (to get rid of them) and for profit. The old Roman law gave the father full and complete power over his

children. He might put them to death or sell them into slavery. The story is told of an ancient Arabian who saved female children who were about to be buried alive, by purchase, the price being two she-camels, big with young, and one he-camel. Among the ancient Sumerians and Akkadians the parents were free to sell their children and these sales were apparently frequent. Children have often been sold under economic stress, particularly the female children for purposes of prostitution.

Of course there are bright spots in this history. The Roman general, Agathocles, exacted as part of the terms of peace with the Carthaginians that they should cease the sacrifice of children. There was a royal proclamation issued in China in 1659 against the practice of drowning girl babies. Again in 1773 the Emperor Kien Long issued an edict against infanticide. The Emperor Tao Kang published an edict condemning the practice in 1845. In 1848 a strong effort was made to stop the practice in Canton and further efforts during the reign of Koang Siu, which began in 1875,

were directed to the same end and warned the people to take their children to orphan asylums rather than throw them into the river. In the Roman Empire it was the Christians who from the first fought relentlessly against the crimes of killing and exposing children.

In Europe as late as the seventh century children were sold for the means to obtain food, and children were even stolen in order to sell them. Matters had come to a similar pass in Italy and Gaul in the fifth century and children were sold, even though the parents knew they were selling them to be resold to the Vandals in Africa. This traffic reached such excesses that it was made the subject of an apostolic mission by Gregory (who became Pope in 590). The first really effective means to help this situation was the founding by Datheus, Archbishop of Milan, in 787, of an institution for the care of helpless children. In 1380 a similar institution was founded in Venice and one in Florence in 1421. Many institutions of one sort and another were founded which cared for

abandoned children, but all these movements seem to crystallize about Saint Vincent de Paul, as such movements usually do crystallize about a commanding personality which stands out prominently from the rest.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries conditions in Europe were hideous indeed. Children were abandoned right and left. A few were left by the more humane mothers at the doors of hospitals and charitable institutions, but many were left by the roadside or cast into the sewers. The efforts made to correct these evils for the most part had little effect, although they were drastic enough. A girl who killed her offspring was hung and those caught leaving them in solitary places were whipped and disgraced in the towns where they lived. Almost worse than all this was the practice of deforming children for the use of mountebanks and beggars. The story is told that it was the horror occasioned by suddenly coming on a beggar deforming the limbs of a child that caused Saint Vincent de Paul to take up the cause of the

children of Paris. A few days after this incident he started his institution for children. Later on the success of this undertaking brought royal support, the king, Louis XIII, donating four thousand francs annually to its support. His example was followed by his widow, Anne of Austria, with an annual gift of eight thousand francs. In 1670 Louis XIV made the children's hospital one of the institutions of Paris.

We now come to the period of the employment of children, which gradually grew into the abuses of the modern factory system which began in the latter part of the eighteenth century with the invention of machinery for spinning and weaving. The employment of child labor and the abuse of the children so employed had occurred long before the so-called factory system came into being, but the factory, with its machinery and the great congestion of population which grew up about it because it could employ so many persons, with low wages, miserable living conditions, and many children, was the setting in which there developed the enslavement of the

child to modern industry from which we are only now succeeding in emancipating it. The factory conditions under which children were employed were horrible beyond description, the children being slaves in all but name. In the seventeenth century in England children of six years of age were put to work.

Children could do much of the work in the factories, as much of it was almost altogether mechanical and required little intelligence. Children were a source of cheap labor and, therefore, for economic purposes, were greatly sought. A veritable traffic in children grew up, mill owners bargaining with the agents of the poor for children almost as blatantly as slaves were bought and sold in the South before the Civil War. These children were made to work long hours, even as long as twenty hours a day, and frequently they were kept at work all night. If they ran away they were beaten when caught and even chained. They were kept under the most atrocious sanitary conditions and the mortality among them was very high.

Another element that made these conditions possible was the miserable poverty of the people which forced them to put their children at work as early as possible in order that they might become a source of income to the family. The work was arduous and unhealthy, there was no time for recreation or play, nor of course for school, so that ill health and ignorance completed the vicious circle.

But enough of this. The illustrations I have given are sufficient to show with what cruelty the child has been treated in the past and also to demonstrate the theorem with which I started, that this cruelty was based upon a conceived right of ownership; the child being considered as the property of the parents and of the State. In this country there was a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals (1823) before there was a society for the prevention of cruelty to children (1874).

One of the notable landmarks in the struggle of the child for a recognition of its rights was the Decree of Napoleon (1811) which defined the duties of the State in

relation to foundlings, abandoned children, and poor orphans.

The struggle of the child for its rights has continued and made much progress in recent years. Children are now considered to have rights which the State is bound to protect, and statutes exist in every community which undertake to define them. They are not considered to be fully responsible for their acts and therefore punishable as is an adult. They no longer belong to their parents as formerly, and though the parents exercise a guardianship over them it must not be administered inhumanly and brutally. In many communities child labor is forbidden either altogether or in certain unhealthy and unsanitary and exacting work. Parents are held responsible for their care and protection, and a public school system with compulsory attendance laws enforces minimum educational advantages. Special institutions exist in which the State assumes the parental duties. Special courts have been created for the consideration of juvenile delinquents. In the medical schools there are chairs in diseases of

children (pediatrics). The hospitals and private philanthropy have been organized to help save the babies by milk stations, sending them into the country and on boat excursions in hot weather. There are incubators to preserve prematurely born babies, and abortion is a crime. Psychology has developed a department devoted to the study of the mind of the child. Children have acknowledged rights before the courts. Public schools provide the great majority with educational facilities. Public playgrounds are a recognition of the right of the child to play. If these benefits and acknowledgments, and many others that might be named, are irregularly distributed and sadly lacking in some places, and if we still find child labor under conditions we had believed long since abolished, and if ignorance and cruelty still reap a harvest of child lives, it nevertheless is true that the great battle for recognition of the rights of the child has been won and these evidences that the world was not all changed at once are but the remnants of what is fast passing away to make this century in

fact, what it is already proclaimed "the century of the child."

Further progress must take place along the lines I have indicated in the previous chapters, that is, along the lines of a more precise examination into the psychology of the child, of the parent, and the relation between them. A generation ago such a suggestion could not have been expected to bear much fruit. All of the major and, I might say, massive reforms which I have enumerated had first to be worked out and made practical before those greater refinements which I have sketched in this book could find a place for consideration. They have come in for consideration now, though, because the background has been prepared for them by these earlier developments. What are some of the prospects for the future?

We have seen the painful growth of a recognition of the rights of the child develop from a period in which it was conceived to belong, in the full sense that any property belongs, to the parents and the State to use as they saw fit: to kill as an

incumbrance; to sell, perhaps into virtual slavery or worse, for profit; to bind out at hard labor as a source of income; to deny it rights, privileges, and considerations which were often granted to animals. We have seen all this change, until now the fundamental rights of the child are recognized. Through free dispensaries, playgrounds, dental clinics, medical inspection of the schools, sanitary tenement laws, and in many other ways, its physical health is safeguarded, while compulsory education provides a minimum intellectual equipment. In what direction may we expect further progress?

In general this question may be answered by saying — through a deeper understanding of the child by the adult, and therefore a deeper sympathy with its problems, and both a greater desire and a greater capacity to help.

The few historical facts I have cited show that the failure of the child to get recognition is due to the fact that the parents feel that they own it and therefore treat the child solely as a means of immediate pleas-

ure and profit. I have also shown that it is only when it, the child, is really brought up with a sole eye to its own welfare, not that of the parents, that the parents really reap the greatest possible reward through their children, that is, they are able to live over again, and thus renew, their youth by seeing the world again through the eyes of their children. I have only to add that this change is the universally necessary change in all cultural development, namely, the putting off of satisfaction into an ever-receding future.

Selfishness and altruism are relative terms and refer really to the immediacy with which the satisfaction of desire is demanded. The parents who sell their children into slavery demand immediate returns, and by that same token the return must be concrete (money). The parents who desire the greatest good of their children wish to see them develop into useful and efficient adults and correspondingly the results are put off until a relatively remote time and are more spiritual in character. The former parents we say are

selfish and the latter altruistic, but we might better view the two sets of parents as at different stages of culture and therefore demanding different results to satisfy them. The latter parents surely reap the greater reward and could be called the more selfish only if their conduct were consciously directed to deriving the greatest possible gain. In reality we prefer to look upon them as more unselfish and their greater reward the reward that comes to unselfishness.

The maternal instinct has been said to be the single element in man's nature which has made civilization possible as we know it, inasmuch as it is the basis of all so-called altruistic or not purely self-seeking sentiments. This is perhaps quite true if we enlarge the term "maternal instinct" to mean the parental instinct, for no practical basis of a society that involved mutual cooperation could be worked out on a foundation of purely selfish gratification as we ordinarily use that concept. Mutual cooperation involves a certain amount of sacrifice of individual interests to the in-

terests of the group, and the prototype of such self-sacrifice may well be the sacrifice that the parents have to make to the interests of their offspring. It is, of course, necessary to maintain the integrity of the group, for only if it is maintained are those conditions created that make possible the largest development and fulfillment of the individual. A man, for example, can only pursue his own particular tastes because the society of which he is a part creates a milieu in which that is both possible and safe. The accumulation of property is only possible because society protects him from invasion; he on the other hand has to contribute (taxes) to support the police agencies of society. An artist can only pursue his art in a relatively peaceful society where there is an overplus of production and therefore a surplus to expend in art. In a tribe fighting for its very existence the artist would have to function as a warrior. His interest is therefore in peace, industrialism, and the accumulation of wealth, towards which he must contribute his share.

This sacrifice of the individual, this putting aside of immediate satisfaction for the interests of the group, the putting aside of something that is wanted *now* for something of far greater value which can only be achieved at some time in the future, perhaps never, is not only a condition of cultural development, but is a condition which itself develops. First, it is only the cruder desires for immediate satisfaction that are put aside, then progressively the less and less crude desires: at first, satisfaction is only put off for a short time and then further and further into the future. And so ideals grow with advance in culture, always outstripping man in his progress, always beckoning him on to further effort, further conquests. What will the future offer in the way of further refinements in the development of what we have learned is basically the paternal instinct?

We have come, in recent years, to a wholly new concept of the meaning of the several varieties of failure which we see among men, especially such failures as are comprised in what are in general termed

the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes. These include the so-called insane, the so-called criminal, and the various types of defectives that may not be classified with either of the other two groups. The great majority of these groups which make up by far the largest part of that enormous array of failures that sooner or later come to be public charges, we are coming to realize are sufferers from some kind of mental illness, and such illnesses may for the most part be most profitably considered as founded upon a defective basis. The defective group (idiots, imbeciles, morons, backward children, constitutionally inferior and psychopathic personalities) are admittedly defective. A great number of the criminal reactions are recognized as essentially childish and infantile in character. Among the so-called insane the defective basis of the reactions is not so easily recognized because they are overlaid with such manifest distortions, but analysis demonstrates that at basis they are dependent upon fixations, in the sense I have already used this term, and there-

fore are due to a failure to develop in more circumscribed aspects of the personality as a result. From this point of view, the essentially defective, that is infantile, childlike factor which is at the basis of these several types of reaction, it can be seen that we are dealing in them over again with the problem of the child, only the problem is very greatly disguised because it occurs, so to speak, in an adult setting. When a man of forty or fifty reacts like a child of, say ten, the adulthood of the man blinds our eyes to the infantile character of his reaction.

It is strangely interesting and confirmatory of this point of view that the history of the treatment of the defectives, the insane, and the criminals has been the same sort of history as has been the history of the treatment of the child. It has been marked by the same sorts of cruelty, the same lack of understanding, and the reforms which have recently come about are motivated by the same feelings of sympathy and responsibility, the same sort of pity and love which have prompted the

philanthropists who have helped the child come into its rights. In other words I believe that the emotional attitude that is at the bottom of prison reform and the reform movements in the care of the insane is again the parental instinct which seeks the good of these others rather than the gratification of selfish desire.

If I am right in identifying the motive at the bottom of the reforms indicated as the parental instinct I believe it will be of great value to recognize it as such.

Further advances in civilization and culture imply further development of that spirit of coöperation which involves the sacrifice of immediate satisfaction and which, as I have indicated, is founded in the parental instinct. The further development of possibilities along these lines will mean a handling of all of the social problems of the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes from the platform of love rather than hate. Opportunity will be given to all to develop the best that is in them rather than subjecting them to a system of repressions which is solely di-

rected to destroying what is bad in them. The program will be constructive and not just repressive. Punishment, if used, will be carefully devised to attain well defined constructive ends and not be an expression of hate and vindictiveness as it now usually is. All of these aims and objects are precisely the same as the aims and objects in bringing up children, namely, they are calculated to bring about the best results rather than to serve as emotional outlets (anger, hate, resentment, etc.) for the parents or for society (as directed against the criminal).

A really constructive program for the treatment of the social problems created by the divers forms of failure, that is, one that grows out of love (if not love of the criminal, for example, then love in a sublimated form for the sciences which are engaged in the various problems of criminology) rather than one that grows out of hate, which is always destructive, would save an enormous amount of energy for society which now runs to waste. Such a program will grow as a result of the de-

velopment of those same qualities of mind and heart which make parenthood successful. Such diverted parental interests will evolve hand-in-hand with the evolution of the parent-child relation and will offer a substitute for that relation to many who through circumstances have been deprived of the blessing of children. As a social force it is important to recognize its origin and having done so to direct a more intensive study to discovering its various mechanisms to the end that it may be utilized to the best advantage.

The parent-child relation, the rudiments of which I have laid down in this volume, needs now to be studied with greater care because the demands of a complex civilization are ever becoming greater. As these demands grow they require greater efficiency on the part of the individual in meeting them. The appreciation of this need is outwardly recognized by a gradually increasing length of the period of preparation for life, until now the boy is not ready to commence a professional career until he is about twenty-five years of age.

Time expended in preparation, however, will not alone produce the greatest possible results. I have pointed out the evils of fixation at infantile levels. Such fixations operate to hamper the fullest expression of the individual, to impair the character of his work and limit its output throughout his life. It, therefore, becomes of the greatest importance, in view of the increased demands which life is making upon the individual, to study this aspect of his preparation for life with the object of making it possible for him to live his life at his best, unhampered by the preventable.

Next to the actual improvement of the parent-child relation the most important opportunity for applying the results of a knowledge of the psychology of the child is in the field of education. Education involves only an extension of parental control in certain specialized directions with the teacher as parent surrogate. Education will then become more of a process of helping the child to develop the powers within it, to unfold its personality, than a system

of crowding back tendencies that are struggling for expression (repression).

In this threefold way then does the subject of the parental instinct present itself: in the parent-child relation; in the educational situation; and in sublimated forms in its wider social bearings.

To this point has the discussion of the Mental Hygiene of Childhood led, namely, to an attempt to define somewhat of the nature of the parental instinct, for surely a régime could hardly be projected for the child to follow of its own initiative. A mental hygiene of childhood, therefore, is dependent upon the parent, and an examination of the springs of parental attachment which will help the parents to a better understanding of themselves and of their affective orientation to their children is of most value to the child.[1]

[1] For the historical facts referred to in this chapter I am indebted to "The Child in Human Progress", by George Henry Payne. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1916.

Chapter XI

Conclusion

IN the preceding pages I have tried to describe the development of the child as depending upon the interplay between certain fundamental tendencies (instincts) as they come into relation with the problems presented to them by the world of reality. Of this world of reality I have indicated that the parents play by far the most important part in conditioning those earliest responses to these instinctive tendencies which thus become the prototypes for later conduct. In doing this I have laid stress upon two matters which are ordinarily not discussed, in fact are usually treated as if they did not exist at all. I refer to the developing sexuality of the child and the antagonism between parents and children.

The sexuality of the child has always

been avoided and if referred to is considered as quite an impossible and unthinkable assumption. The ideal of the child which has been perpetuated in the popular mind is one of innocence and simplicity. I have indicated how the feeling of uncleanness may become associated with sexuality and also how unfortunate such an association may be. In the bitter struggle of man to reach ever higher altitudes it was necessary that his instincts be powerfully repressed by every device available and it was this profound repression that has led to such false ideals of the nature of childhood as deny to that period of life any sexual inclinations. Science, however, recognizes that an instinct so complex as the sexual instinct cannot come forth instantly and full blown at the period of puberty. It must have come from somewhere, that is, it must have developed from small beginnings; it must have been present before but in the making. Such a concept as that the child has no sexuality, therefore, cannot be a basis for an intelligent dealing with children. We can-

not learn to deal with a situation by attempting to deal with it as if it was something which it is not. We would soon come to grief if we tried to deal with oil as if it were water, if we had a fire to put out. It is equally as dangerous to be blind to the sexuality of the child as it is to be blind to the inflammability of oil when we have a fire to deal with. By such blindness parents over and over again allow their children to get into all sorts of situations of danger and ultimately to come to grief simply because they cannot bring themselves to acknowledge that their children have such inclinations. Other children might be so inclined but certainly not theirs. Their children have always been so carefully brought up, have never been permitted bad associates, have been taught all the proprieties and all the rest of it. The physician sees only too often the tragic results of such blindness.

The matter of the antagonism between parents and children is a similar one in some respects. The ideal of a home has been fostered in which the loving attach-

ment between its several members is emphasized and overemphasized because again it has been necessary for man, in order to succeed in his aspirations, to blind himself to certain aspects of reality (repression). He made himself realize his ideal of the home by believing that all manifestations not in accord with it were wrong. And so the home has grown up along the path marked out for it by the necessities of repression. Man has conquered by conquering himself. By emphasizing certain aspirational values of union beyond his power to attain, he has been able finally to bring his ideal into view and even to effect it, and so to develop away from relative promiscuity into that form of monogamous union which has made the family the unit of a progressing social organization.

Advance always takes place in this way, by stages, each succeeding stage reaching a higher level because it is endeavoring to attain a higher ideal. Each stage on the way reaches its own solutions of the problems presented to it which the succeeding stage leaves behind for new solutions.

Now that the belief in the freedom from sexuality of the child has served its purpose as a factor in that repression of sexuality which has helped to bring about an ideal of sexual morality that has fostered the growth of the family and made for monogamous unions, the time is ripe for a further examination of the facts. We know now that the ignorance of sexuality which has been fostered has in it elements of positive danger because both parents and children are thus blinded to pitfalls that may have most serious consequences, and so sexual enlightenment has become an end that is being definitely recognized as desirable. Similarly, now that the ideal of family union has become stabilized it is coming to be recognized that the family situation, as such, has elements in it of a disruptive nature which must be taken cognizance of, if still further advances are to be made in the development of the family as the social unit.

These two factors, sexual enlightenment and a recognition of the fundamental antagonism between parents and children,

are, to my mind, the points of attack from which further developments must radiate. A lack of recognizing them results in certain types of character distortions, which I have indicated in these pages, and which result because the energy which is bound up in the repressions can, so to speak, come up on our blind side and so produce effects which, because they are of unconscious origin, are unknown to us and cannot be brought into the field of conscious direction and control. By an examination of their mechanisms we can make these conscious and therefore can bring them under the domination of our intelligence; or in other words, we can now safely release the energy bound up in the repressions which can then be used for still further advances on the path of development.

The ideals which have been formulated thus far have served as guiding stars in man's struggle upward and have obtained invaluable results. These results have now been so firmly fixed in our ways of thinking that the time is opportune for taking stock anew, for finding out exactly just what has

really been accomplished with the view of seeing whether new adjustments are not possible which will help along to still better things. A study of the failures of life and of the mechanisms which have brought them about has disclosed hitherto unknown and unexpected errors in our way of evaluating the factors involved in the development of the individual. What these errors are I have indicated. Their correction will have the effect of removing obstacles to further advance. The old ideals are by no means to be abolished but replaced by something better; in fact it is even better not to think of replacing the old ideals, for that would imply that they were wrong. As I have indicated, the old ideals were not, are not wrong; they have rendered invaluable service, they are to be replaced, superseded only in the sense that they are to be more fully rounded out, completed by relieving them from certain implications which we now recognize as false.

The idea that the child is a sexless human being is wrong and when, because

of its sexual tendencies it goes in wrong directions, the idea that it is vicious, immoral and anti-social is also wrong. Sexuality represents a perfectly normal tendency without which the race would perish. When the child is sidetracked by this tendency it is wrong to apply adult standards of evaluation to the resulting conduct. The child is not immoral, it is amoral, it is not anti-social it is asocial. It has not yet developed to that stage in which moral and social standards are recognized. It should not, therefore, be thought of as having gone wrong because of innate depravity but as having failed because a great force has not been properly utilized. Its perfectly normal tendencies have gone astray because it has not been possible to properly direct them. The experiments and excursions of the child into what are usually considered to be forbidden fields need to be recognized as the child's blind efforts to arrive, and as affording opportunities for direction by the parents rather than as activities that call only for the administering of punishment. Out of a

study of the sexuality of the child arise, then, new problems in its direction, and the utilization of this great force for constructive ends, problems of education, of bringing up. These problems are not easy of solution. It is much easier, ostrich-like, to stick one's head in the sand of prejudice and be blind to the facts. To see the facts and to deal with them requires intelligence, effort, love, self-sacrifice, and makes much greater demands upon the parent. Parents will first have to learn to see the facts and having learned to see them will then have to learn to deal with them. The force must first be recognized and then directed. It is a process of growth and development of viewpoints and of capacity. It makes great demands upon the parents and will be of inestimable benefit to their children, not only as children but later as adults freed from the domination of their infantile sexuality which has never had a chance to grow up. Freedom from sexual repressions does not mean freedom in the sense of license to go counter to the conventions; it means freedom from tendencies

of unknown, unconscious origin, and full control of one's own powers; it means being the captain of one's soul.

Similarly the emphasis on the antagonism of parents and children does not mean that the old ideal, that excludes this, is wrong. It means adding to the old ideal the facts of this antagonism and recognizing the necessity on which it is based, namely, the necessity of emancipation. The recognition of this necessity and the ability to make it a part of our actual methods of dealing with our children will do away forever with that most dangerous of assumptions on the part of the parents that their children belong to them to do with as they will. The idea of the ownership of children by their parents perhaps served a purpose originally in securing for them a home and some measure of protection, but it is needed no longer for such a purpose. Having done what it could in the course of development it now stands as an obstacle to further advance. The new ideal of parenthood will be a trusteeship for coming generations and the parents

will get their reward in proportion to their ability to discharge that trusteeship creditably. I have indicated the further ramifications of this new ideal in the relations of society to the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes. These classes will come to be recognized not only, as they now are, as liabilities, but also as assets because they offer the concrete opportunities for the exercise of those higher virtues upon which the future of society so much depends.

The mental hygiene of the child is in the hands of the parent. For generations, in fact always, children have been brought up by their parents with little or no realization that the art of parenthood was something that could itself be developed. The functions of the parents have been exercised largely in a blind and instinctive way, and the results have depended upon their natural capacities, insight, and love; and such improvement as has taken place has been the natural result of better parents rather than the result of any special efforts directed to the solution of the specific prob-

lems. Now comes along science, which has illuminated so many things in this age of efficiency, and throws its light into the dark places of age-long customs. We may expect that many errors will be disclosed and as they are and the faulty practices which grew out of them corrected there will result a better society.

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